

A
TABLE-BOOKE
FOR
PRINCES.

CONTAINING SHORT
Remembrances for the Govern-
ment of themselves and their
EMPIRE.



Wherein also respectiue the several
Members of State, and all sorts of Sub-
iects, may finde matter worthy
their obseruation.

By *Patricke Scot*, Esquire.

*Nihil recte inchoatur, nisi post Deum fauerit Im-
perator, nec quenquam oportet vel meliora scire
vel plura quam principes, cuius doctrina omni-
bus potest prodesse subiectis. Veget. in Prol.*

LONDON,

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Fish-street, 1621.

TABLE-BOOKE



PRINCES

SHORT

OF THE

REIGN

OF

THE

QUEEN

MARY

II

1553



TO
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borne
blessin
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lebrat
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a Mig
Wife
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and
God



TO THE HIGH
AND MIGHTIE PRINCE

CHARLES, the hopefull Prince
of Great Brittain, France
and Ireland, &c.

SIR,

IF PHILLIP of
Macedon did yeelde
no lesse thanks to his
false gods, that his
Sonne *Alexander* was
borne in the time of *Aristotle*, then in
blessing him with so hopefull a child:
your Highnesse hath iust cause to ce-
lebrate the Name of the true God,
that you are the Sonne and Heire of
a Mightie King, and of a Religious,
Wise, and Learned Father, who
(besides the appointing of godly
and learned Tutors) in his owne

A 3 person,

THE EPISTLE

person, (exceeding *Aristotle* both in the Theoricke and Practicke of Government) hath so seasoned your Highnesse tender yeares, with the (Giliadlike) odoriferous Balme of Diuine and Morall instructions, as the sweete perfume thereof hath already rauished the hearts of all loyall Subiects, with the extremitie of ioy; and one day (by Gods Grace) will make knowne to the World, the happinesse you haue in your birth-right, but the perfection of happinesse in such a Father, who hath so empyred the profound Ocean of Diuine and Humane learning, that (except borrowed from the rich Treasure of his store, nothing that belongs to the true institution of young *Alexander*, can either be found or added.

Wherefore Sir, I humbly beseech your Highnesse to censure these lame Essaies of my barren braine (or rather crums falne from the Princely Table of your more then Salomon-like Father) as the Widowlke Symbol

boll
Faith
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DEDICATORIE.

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boll of my deuotion; pledge of my
Faith, or Subiect to try your High-
nesse, clemencie in pardoning, or Iu-
stice in condemning of me, who haue
rashly presumed to prefer my *home-
spun labours* to so powerfull a *Meece-
nas*, whose approbation or dislike
may enrich me with the fulnesse of
content, or expose me vpon the dan-
gerous Rockes of vntimely sorrow.
But Sir, either in life or death I
shall be

*Your Highnesse humble
and true Seruant,*

PATRICK SCOT.

A 4 TO

DEDICATION

I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your kind
letter of the 10th inst. in relation
to the book of the same title
which I have the honor to
acknowledge with the friends of
the cause of the oppressed
and the friends of the
cause of the oppressed
and the friends of the
cause of the oppressed

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison

PATRICK SPOT

TO



TO
THE GENEROUS
READER.

K Nowing (Generous Reader) that these ill digested labours of mine, shall be as well exposed to the byting censure of base and enuious Criticks, (whose peruerse and obstinate disposition hath taught them to detract from others, and forget their owne obliquities) as to the view of High borne, true, Noble, and generous Spirits, (whose birth and education inuities them to looke with a more fauourable aspect vpon the weake endeouours of good meaning.) For thy better satisfaction, I am to aduertise thee; that at my first seizing vpon this Subiect, (a task I grant farre aboue my reach) I did not
iealously

TO THE READER.

iealously suspect, but altogether distrust
my owne insufficiencie; and therefore did
make choyce rather to loose my thus spent
time, and commit my confused Papers to
a fiery tryall, then to be the Herald of my
owne ignorance: but when I had better
aduised, I did finde that the Supream
King is well pleased with the least dram
of true deuotion: that his Vicegerents ma-
ny great Monarches, and braue Princes
haue taken in good part, the smalest oblati-
ons of their meanest Seruants: that euery
good subiect (amongst whom in loyaltye
I am inferior to none) are by the most
strict bonds of allegiance tyed, to commu-
nicate their talent to the seruice of their
Prince and Countrey: then (I say) did
recall my fire-threatening sentence. and
was content that this abortiue birth should
come vnto the world; But vpon assu-
rance (least thou should expect more then
I promise) that the Tytle of a Table-
Booke might be Charactered vpon the
frontis-piece thereof: which very name,
enforceith rather a necessitous use for
memory, then an elaborat intire deba-
ting,

TO THE READER.

ing, or methodicall disposition of the
matter.

Sith then I hold up my hand at the bar
of thy iudgement, I intreate that this en-
suing Treatise (blemished with the im-
pollished ornaments of Art) may be shel-
tered under the wings of thy favorable
censure, and the rather because this sub-
iect is more neerely alied to truth and
sinceritie, then to art and affectation. So
shall I remaine

Thy constant

welwiller,

P. S.



AVTHOR LIBELLO.

Ela, age nunc, roseasq; genas, frontemq; serenam
Ostendas Cælo; licet immaturè, nec omni
Parte, satis vel comptè finus, collectæue pulchram
Cæsariem in nodum; tamen hand fortasse, libelle,
Monstrum immane tuens: te libertatis amicæ
Munere te placitâ donabit sepe salute
Magnanimus Carlus; magni generosa propago
Patris, qui Centum numerans ab origine Reges
Omnes sceptriseros, omnes decora alta ferentes,
Bis sese quartum adiungit; Bodotria solum
Quem dominû, Tamisîq; colit. piscosaq; bannæ
Flumina, tu gratum venies caput omnibus illis
Quis magè sana bonus finxit præcordia Titan
Et non Antyciras opus est dare lintea: verum
Momorum damnanda, bonisque aduersa propago,
Et qui vipereum spirant ex ore venenum,
Zoilous, atque Theon, tæ sannis omnibus vnum
Excipient; durumq; prement, liuoris acerbi
Morsibus. Interea tu quâ licet, vtere sorte
Suppliciter venerare atque admirare potentem
Parcere Subiectis & debellare superbos.
Et (si quem) solum subit illo poplite Carlum
Qui (quamvis talem) vultu haud dignatur amico
Cernere te. Charis grates hinc soluere amicis
Sis memor: & labes veteres, fractique vigoris
disiectum robur, non inficiatè, recedas.
Denique quæ Momus iaculatur spicula, forti
Sperne animo; neq; vim quæ ea dextera mittat a-
rundo.
Vel spaciû euadet torum: vel perforet idum.



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A TABLE BOOKE
FOR PRINCES.

SECTION. I.

*Of the condition and true happinesse
of Princes.*

They are either blind or ignorant, that (with the vulgar) estimate the happinesse of Kings to consist in titular honours, largenesse of Empire, millions of Subiects, faire Palaces, multitude of attendants, rich treasures, and other glistering shewes: They neuer looke into the heauie burthen and thorny cares of gouernment, whereof a diademe is composed, wherein the suppressing of vice, the exalting of vertue, equall ad-

Vulgi indoctum, & multorum illa capitum bellua persuasam habet, magnos principes regno suo, velut in a. manissimo quodā paradiso vivere, ubi dijs hominibusque plaudētibus, omnia quæ ad delicias pertinent, supendantur. Retin. Lor. Hacla.

B mini-

ministration of Iustice; immediately in their owne persons, and mediately by their deligates : the defence of the poore and oppressed, the carefull ouerwatching that neither in themselves, nor in others the lawes bee infringed, are chiefe and inseparable companions of Empire, and annexed to Crownes, vpon no lesse perill then priuation of all those worthy Epithets, which are due to good Princes here, and of the eternall reward that is promised hereafter.

Plut. in. vit.
Solon.
Plutar. an
seni geren.
da sit ref.
pub.
Macrobl. lib.
1. ca. 16.

This kingly charge, outwardly glorious, begun with cares, continued with feares, oft times ended with sorrowes, rightly considered, will make *Seleucus* with sighes bewaile the miseries of Kings: *Damocles* leaue to flatter

ter

ter *Dionisius* : Golden *Craſus* in sorrow and admiration remember old *Solon*.

Let therefore all Princes, who are transported with the libidinous desire of raigne, or ambitious enlarging of their Dominions, wisely expend the reasons following: First, the great charge that is imposed vpon those to whom gouernment is committed: how difficill it is to exercise the same rightly: what wisdom is required of Princes least they make shipracke of their priuate, and publike state: how farre they ought in vertue excell others: that the publike good is as peculiar to Kings, as seeing to the eye, or hearing to the eare: That none ought to aspire to that sacred seat, but such who in

O nobilem
magis quam
felice pan-
num, quem
si quis per-
nitus cog-
noscat quā
multis soli-
tudinibus
& periculis
sit reſertus,
ne humi
iacentem
capere vel-
let. Val.
Max. lib. 7.
cap. 1.

Plut. de in-
stit. Prin;

goodnesse imitates the Arch-
king, whose throne it is which
they enioy. *Est Principis Vnicum
munus alijs prospicere & publicis con-
sulere commodis; id autem non po-
test nisi sapientia, vigilantia, ani-
mique integritate ceteros antecel-
lat.*

Eraf. de in-
stit. Prin.

Principatus
nihil aliud
sunt quam
splendida
ministeria.
Eraf. apo. 5.

Secondly, they are to confi-
der that sceptors are not giuen
vnto Kings (tyrant-like) to abuse
their authority, but to be strickt
obseruers, of the lawes they imp-
pose vpon others: That the duty
of Kings and subiects (other-
wayes then in the dignity of
commanding, and that Kings
are onely countable to God) is
mutuall, *Principi populus censum
debet, debet obsequium, debet hono-
rem; populo viciscim Princeps debet
clementiam; debet vigilantiam.* O

King

FOR PRINCES.

S

King (saith *Agapetus* to *Iustinian*)
 fith there is none vpon earth
 able to command thee, impose
 an necessity of keeping the lawes
 vpon thy selfe. *Augustus Caesar* be-
 ing exasperate by an offence of
 high quality (ouercome with the
 violence of his passions) did pu-
 nish a young man, contrary to
 the law hee had made; and hear-
 ing him cry out, O *Caesar* I ap-
 peale to the law which thou hast
 made, did so condole the exacti-
 on of punishment, not due be-
 fore legall censure, that hee did
 forbear to take food; vntill
 such time as hee had fully
 testified the greatnesse of his
 conceiued sorrow: a notable
 example in a great Prince to
 whom the breach of law hee
 had made was so displeasent,

Ad Iustini.
Cæc.

Plut. in ap

Crimen li-
cer per se
grauē erat
tum admis-
sum in Cæ-
saris maie-
statem, ra-
men Heroi-
dolit exac-
ta non secū-
dum legem
propriam
vincta.
Suet. in Cæc.

owarb

B 3

that

Plur. de
doct. Prin.

that he studied rather to punish his owne error, then the offence of so high quality, committed against his royall dignitie : hee did well know, that the law is the soueraigne queene of diuine and humane gouernment: that it is not enough to make lawes, but to keepe them.

Principes
ministri dei
sunt ad curā
& salutem
hominum,
ut bonaque
Deus illis
largitur,
partim di-
stribuant,
partim ser-
uent. Plur.
de doct.
P-in.
ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΕΠΟΝ/
li. 2. fol. 101.

Thirdly, let ambitious *Alexander*, and tyranous *Dionysius* (whose ruling appetite, and cruelty, on world and humane blood cannot satiate) consider that Kings are the images of God; that as God is goodnesse it selfe, and distributes his goodnes to all men : so Princes (Gods vicegerants) ought to bee profitable to their subiects : not to preferre their priuate gaine before the publike good, but to drawe

drawe their picture by the patterne of their Maker, and so shine before their people, in abandoning of vice, and following of vertue, as they exceed them in place and dignity. Let Princes wisely weigh that the helme of the Common-wealth is committed to their charge, and that they are countable for the well or ill gouernment thereof: That there is nothing more contagious, or that sooner disperseth through the body of state, then the example of Princes, whose liues are so conspicuous as the sunne, and therefore to the good of all men they must be the best amongst men, or to the preiudice of all, and their owne the most wicked.

*Si quispiam
nauta mo-
dicum erra-
uerit, affert
nauigantibus
nocuentū,
sed si nauig-
ator ipse
delirauerit,
totius efficit
nauigij per-
niciē Agap.
ad Iust.*

Fourthly, the boyling desire

Iacob. mag.
Brit. &c.
Rex : in
Epist. ad
Carol. Prin.
Suet. in
Fla. dom.

Conditio
Principum
miserima
est, ubi
timentur
insidiarum
pro-
ditorum
fraudes,
doli, editi-
ones, inimi-
citarum, vene-
na. Reinh.
Lor.

of Empire will growe cold, if
Princes set before their eyes, the
infinite dangers to which they
are subiect; to what burthen
they are tyed, how full of thör-
ny cares, and commonly how
short the life of greatnesse is. It
was not without cause that *Cæ-
sar* did complaine, vpon the mi-
sery of Princes, subiect to per-
fidious machinations, detestable
treasons, deceitfull conspiracies,
and intoxicate poysonings: they
cannot in safety goe abroad,
without a guard, neyther take
meate before some other taste
it: they must in peace liue ar-
med, not onely against the in-
uasion of forraine enemyes,
but intestine and domesticke
friendes: one betrayes them,
another deceiues them: others
flatters

flatters them : they are the subjects of all discourse ; the objects of all mens eyes : from all which the vulgar are secured : they are neither subject to feares , nor feared or enuied of any : their earthen cups yeeld them drinke to quench their thirst , but not to extinguish their life : hunger makes their browne bread sweete , labour their sleepe quiet , small fire keepes them from cold , course clothes shelters their nakednes , and an innocent life crownes their death.

By which it is euident that Princes must cyther acknowledge the weight of their office , what intricate difficulties and dangers are in the right exercising thereof ; that they are
 fcs

Nulla enim
 aconita bi-
 buntur ficti-
 libus, tunc
 illa time, cū
 pocula su-
 mas gem-
 mata, & lato
 sitinum ar-
 debit in
 auro: lunc
 nal. sat. 10.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝ.
Epist.

Reinh. Lor.

Iacob. mag.
Brit. &c.
Rex de i-
naugurat.
Prin. fol.
122.

set vpon the theater of the world, or (tyrant like) resolute that the Common-wealth, must be the stage of their insolent life, and wished for death. The continuall toyles whereunto Princes are subiect, made *Cesar* oft-times wish to bee exonered of so heavy a burthen; hath beene the cause that many wise and learned Princes haue preferred, priuate life, before publike greatness.

Lastly, let the serious meditation of the strict accompt that Princes must giue, serue to curbe the insolent affecting of gouernment; the time will shortly come (death sparing no more Kings than beggars) when hee must yeeld vp his accompts (according to the greatnesse of his talent

talent) before such a Iudge, from whom all the Monarches in the world are not able to appeale; and whom they cannot deterre, deceiue, or corrupt: what strickt account will hee take? what seuerer iudgment will hee pronounce against such as either haue vniustly vsurped his authority, or being lawfully placed in his throne vpon earth, haue intruded themselues, or not acquitted them of the trust committed to them? *Agapetus Iustinianum admonuit, ut talem se prestaret erga subditos ut famulos, qualem Deum futurum erga se exoptaret.*

It is then manifest that good Princes (to whom the incessant care of then charge is more deare, then the mad and foolish desire of preheminence) are not
happy

Vidimortuos magnos, & pusillos stantes in conspectu throni. Res uel. 10.

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectui in se crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur Iuuen. Sat. 8.

Eraf. in fit.
Prin.

ΕΡΑΣΤΑΙΟΝ
ΔΕΠΟΝ.
Επιστ.

happy by the externall shadowes
of greatnesse, but by shewing
themselues great, in ouerruling
their disordered affectiōs (which
is none of the least, but rather
the perfection of humane acti-
ons) and then in the establishing
and keeping of good lawes: in
the administration of Iustice; in
rewarding the vertuous and
punishing the vicious: in ex-
alting the humble, obedient,
and beating downe the proud
oppressours: in repressing of
enemies and cherishing of
friendes: in punishing treaso-
nable practises, and detesting
inposturing flattery: in chastis-
ing detractions, and discoun-
tenancing hollow-hearted hy-
pocrites: and finally to bee
such, as they care not who
looke

looke vnto their most secret actions , or outward gesture.

These and the like bee true kingly functions, the rich iewells that adorne diademes, and are the happinesse of Kinges; not consisting in temporary, momentary pleasures , or deceitfull vices : but vpon the neuer perishing delights, that are builded vpon the vnremouable rocke of vertue , vnto which no man can ascend, but by the steppes of diuine wisdom. *Salomon* (in whose choise 1. Reg. c. 3. it was to aske what hee pleased) did well know that this was the ladder by which *Iacob* did reach vp to heauen, and the life of kingly maiesty ; therefore he did not aske riches, vaine glory

glory or worldly pleasures; but
 wisdom; neither worldly wisdom,
 but such whereby in up-
 rightnesse and vnderstanding he
 might execute his royall function.
Eraf. apo. 4 *Philip of Macedon* was desirous
 that his sonne *Alexander* should
 not giue his mind to corruptible
 riches, but to the study of philosophy.

Reiah. Lor. These great Princes did wisely
 inform themselves, that wisdom
 and learning are the *Herculian*
 pillars of Kings, without which
 their condition (although embellished
 with the glory of *Salomon* the
 Empire of *Alexander*, the armies
 of *Xerxes*, the riches of *Craesus*, and
 other whatsoever vanities nature
 doth produce, or art inuent)
 is more miserable then the poorest
Codrus, or despised *Lazarus*.

Ludo. Hil-
les lib. 1.

It

It is then religious wisdom, seconded by good education & learning, that dignifies Princes in their youth, accompanies them in their life, and glorifies them after death.

*O Vita religio conservatrix, tu
 cœlitus demissa interris, animos vera
 virtute implet; tu diuinarum hu-
 manarumque rectorix: tu imperia,
 sceptrâ, iudicia, ut firma, ut legi-
 tima sunt facis: tu privatorum for-
 tunam moderaris: tu populos in
 fide ac officio contines: in te una
 bene beateque vivendi firmamentum
 existit: demum nihil in Principe nec
 populo præclarum est, quod non a
 te ortum ducat, tuoque illustratur
 splendore.*

SECTI-

SECTION. II.

*What benefit commeth to a Prince, by
good education and learning.*

*Eraf de in-
flic Prin.*

AS the most fertill ground, without culture, is not onely barren in the production of wholsome fruits, but doth ouergrowe with thistles and hurtfull weedes. So the minde of man without education, is not onely infertill in the propagation of vertue, but naturally inclined to bring foorth ignorance, voluptuousnesse, and all other vices. *Salomon* saith, that foolishnesse is tied to the heart of a young man, and cannot be vntied but by instruction. There is no man borne good, neither Prince,

Prou. 22. 15

*Nemo nascitur sapi-
ens sed fit.
Senec de ira*

Prince, howsoever nobly descended, without wholsome doctrine, did prooue himselfe worthy of Empire.

It concerneth therefore generous, high borne, and ingenuous Princes, to follow the study of good letters; to honour Cic. 2. Tusc. quart. and retaine the professors of liberall Arts, and to bee proficient in them: The benefits thereof are many, the effects admirable, and the reward inestimable.

First, vertuous education begetteth a habit of vertue, and hatred of vice, for there is nothing more certaine, then that thereby a man becometh more then a man, and participates in the diuine nature; on the Aelian: Lamp.

Plut. de es
duca puer.

other side, if he be left to his naturall ignorance, he degenerates to all wickednesse, and simpatiseth rather with the most savage and rude beasts, then with reasonable men.

Lucurgus the Spartan lawgiuer, made manifest the powerfulnesse of education, by the diuers effects of two puppies. *Duo catuli ijsdem parentibus orti, ceterum diuersam vitæ consuetudinem affecuti, alter gulosus, alter venator euasere.*

Eras. 3. apō.

Secondly, although Princes so exceed all others in the abundance of all things, that learning may seeme either to serue them to small vse, or not necessary at all: yet for many weightie considerations, the
more

more powerfull they are, the
 lesse able they are, to gouerne
 either themselves, or their peo-
 ple without knowledge and
 learning; being more ready to
 decline from the right hand of
 vertue, vnto the left hand of
 vice, then to keepe the sure
 way, neuer knowne to the ig-
 norant and vnlearned. Lear-
 ning is that strong guard, that
 defendeth Princes against the
 deceitfull inticements of pro-
 sperity, power, honour, riches,
 and whatsoeuer else præcipi-
 tates greatnesse (blindfolded in
 the *Cimerian* darkenesse of ig-
 norance) to an irrecoverable
 downefal: a Prince ought not
 to measure his happinesse by
 those false goods of fortune,

Principes
 opushabent
 multis præ-
 ceptis, vt
 sanctè vi-
 uant; vt ve-
 terem cum
 suis ad secti-
 bus Adamū
 rerum copia
 luxuriante,
 coerceant;
 ne volupta-
 tibus fran-
 gantur,
 & insolescant
 ad inuicem.
 Gregor.
 moral.

Polib. lb. 7.

Libri multi
magistri
nescientes
erubescere
non con-
niuent, vt
dignus he-
ros laudi-
bus euehit;
ita prauos
dente theo-
nino rodūt.
Quint. de
lect. lib.

but by the true riches of his minde; *Gorgias* being asked, whether he did thinke the Per-
sian King happy or not; an-
swered, he did not know how
vertuolis and learned hee was;
for, said hee, there is no happi-
nesse in these things that may
be taken away.

Thirdly, learning stirres vp
and excirates the minde and
loue of a Prince, to the reading
of bookes, wherein hee may
learn al things needful for him-
selfe, or subiects. These dumbe
masters will praise him if he be
worthy, or without feare, with
the Prophet tell him; Thou art
the mā: They wil finally (with-
out blushing) adimonish him of
those things, his Courteors ey-
ther

ther will not, or dare not: The want of learning is the cause that Princes reiect the counsell of their friends, and contemne the power of their enemies; ignorance caused *Cambyses* cruelly to murder the son of *Praxippos* his servant, for his faithful counsell; Tyrannous *Dionisius* to checke *Plato* for his louing aduice. *verba tua inquit Dionisius, otiosorum senum sunt, & tua inquit Plato, tyrannum sapiunt.* Senec. de ira, Plut. apo.

These & the like Phalarisme examples of tyranny, prooue that the knowledge of learning is necessary for good Princes; that thereby they become so much better, that they willingly embrace ver-

tue, and come to the knowledge of themselves. *Omnes boni principes, de quibus legitur, vel fuerunt per se studiosi, vel habuerunt sapientes ad instruendum eos.*

Fourthly, although by descent, nobility of blood, and indulgence of fortune, Princes are eminent: yet to adde a more shining brightnesse to their eternall splendor, learning is necessary, *Doctrina est ornamentum aureum prudenti & quasi brachiale in dextro.*

Ex Doct.
Gerh. no-
uiam.

learning is an honour to all men, saith *Meander*: many famous Princes at home and abroad, haue beene more reuerenced for their learning, then honoured for their greatnesse.

Fiftly, learning onely brings
with

with it lasting, and Prince
 worthy pleasures, the rest are Cicero in
 Senec.
 but deceitful momentary, baits
 to insnare them: *Gaudia falsa
 non remanent, sed fugitiua volant,
 quod lenius videretur, si fugientia
 non relinquerent at ergo venenum.*

These false pleasures are right-
 ly named (by *Architas*) the most Martial. l. 37
 destroying plagues inflicted
 vpon men. *Aristotle* was wont
 to admonish his schollars not
 to looke vpon pleasures at
 their comming, but in their
 going, for in the one (said he,)
 they shew faire, in the other
 they leaue sorrow and repen-
 tance.

On the contrary, the de-
 lights that are begotten of lear-
 ning and vertue, are true ioyes,

Cicero pro
Arch.

permanent pleasures, the ornaments of youth, the crowne of age; They adorne prosperity, vphold aduersity, at home are the best stewards, abroad the best interpreters, in peace the vishers of idlenesse, in warre the Marshals of campes, in company the ministers of discourse, and alone priuate and true Councillours.

2. offic.

Noble *Africanus* vsed oft to say, that he was neuer lesse solitary, then when solitary.

biog. Laert.

A Prince of *Athens*, being demanded what he did profit by Philosophy, answered; That at all times hee could without offence, conferre with himselfe, and in euery discourse drawe a conclusion consonant to reason;

son. Besides, sayd hee, the knowledge of Philosophy, makes mee loue wise learned honest men, detest flattering Parasites, and fooles.

Sixthly, learning adornes a Prince with curtesie, clemency, and meekenesse; The first begetteth inseparable loue, the second humane admiration; and the third diuine applause. The loue of subiects, is the wall of kingdomes. Mercy establisheth the throne of a King, and meekenesse deifies him. *Omnis eruditio mansuetos facit, nemo enim adeo ferus, ut non mitemere possit, si modo doctrina patientem praebeat aurem.*

Gall. l. 13.

Horat. 2.
Epist.

Seauenthly, in most desperate diseases (by learning a Prince

Epist. Fas
mil. lib. 6.

Siquidem
studia vt
optime fo-
licitatē ex-
tollunt; ita
facilime ca-
lamitates
minuunt;
Senec. de
consol. ad
Albinum.

Prince findes matter, of com-
fort, and present helpe. This
was the medicine that *Marcus
Tullius* did minister to his
friend. O *Balbus*, said hee, if I
could prescribe better medi-
cine for our equall griefes, I
would; such as I can, I will
let the study of good letters,
which for our delight we haue
formerly embraced, bee now
the comfort of our miseries,
and last health: as they did ad-
uance our better fortunes; so
they will mitigate present sor-
rowes, cure our wounds, and so
expell melancholy passions,
that the sorrow of humane mi-
series, shall haue no further en-
try then to the gates of our
weakest fences.

Since

Since therefore humane miseries, are no lesse incident to Princes then poore men, they ought by learning to arme themselves against the violent batteries of aduerse fortune. If *Crasus* had participated either in learning, or aduise with *Solon*, in his flourishing estate, he had found more comfort thereby vpon his tragicall theater, then in the millions of his golden treasures. *Dionisius* (nothing inferiour to *Crasus* in tyranny or presumption; but superiour by learning; in his exile, being asked what he had learned by *Plato*: answered, that by Philosophy he had learned to vndergoe equally the estate of a Prince, and beggar.

Quanto
maior est
fortuna, tan-
to minor est
secura. A-
rist, ethni.

Licet Regi
affectu fieri
philosophu.
Plut. in apo.

Gellius l. 2.

Gellius l. 2.

Eightly, a learned Prince doth willingly encline to wisdom and vertue, he followeth the one, & shunneth the other, not for feare, but for loue of themselves. The Cubiculars of the Persian Kings, were enioyned euery morning to put their master in minde of his kingly office, by these wordes: Arise O King, and goe about the publike affaires: A learned Prince needeth no such aduertisement; before hee goeth to bed hee premeditates the next dayes worke, in his bed hee consults vpon it, and at his arising hee executes his setled designs; hee is neither overcome, with sorrow, feare, hope, ioy, and other vulgar violent

per-

Heron, ad
Heliod.

Philosophi
ponunt qua-
tuor species
perturbatio-
num, dolo-
rem, metum,
spem, Leti-
tiam, quibus
hominum
vulgus, vt
procellosu
mare flucti-
bus inquiet-
atur Arist.
pol.

perturbations, but willingly followes those wholesome lawes he doth enact for others.

Aristotle being demanded what hee had profited by Philosophy, answered; That hee had learned to doe those things willingly, that others did for feare of the Law.

Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,

Oderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

Ninthly, giuing of answers, vsing perswasions, resolving of questions, discoursing of lawes, conferring of honours, defence of things proposed, or done, are inseparably annexed to the office of a King: vnto all which, hee must bee by learning inabled, lest hee expose himselfe to the

*Eloquentia principibus magno ornamēto est
Cic. 4. de finib.*

cen-

Plato, de
rep.

censure of ignorance, or become the subject of smothered laughter and future contempt. The words of a Prince are (like the oracles of *Apollo*) no sooner spoken, but taken holde of by all men: therefore great care is to be taken, that his wordes, his orations, his answeres and demandes, be consonant to the to the dignity of a Prince. *Plato* did pronounce the state happy, where a wise and learned King did raigne; for said hee, learning is the only and chiefe happinesse, and ignorance the greatest ill: vpon the first depends all humane felicity; vpon the last assured misery. *Aristippus* made choyse, rather to bee a begger, then vnlearned, be-

Isocrates ad
Demouiac.

because by the one hee wanted
onely externall and temporall
riches, but by the other huma-
nity, knowledge, and endlesse
wealth. *Sola omnium possessionum
immortalis scientia.*

Wherefore (to conclude this
point) learning keepes states
from returning to their former
Chaos of confusion; it is the
sun that enlightens the minde
of Princes, and being remoo-
ued, gouernment by disorder,
turnes into tyranny, and is ob-
scured with the darke cloudes
of ignorance.

*Alphonfus Aragonum Rex, cum
audisset quendam dixisse non de-
cere principem scire literas, fertur
exclamasse: eam vocem bonus esse
non hominis, cum a rationis iudicio*

non

non profecta, sed in sullo belluine ruel
ditatis instinctu fuisset effusa. lino
- amul tedio ed yd and, Jordan

Sholus hne pthelwond ydu
canon

SECTIO. III.

Of the vertuous life of Princes: of
the election of their Councillors,
officers, and seruants.

THere be three insepara-
ble companions that
ought to accompany

Impera tis
bi, impera
seruis, & im-
pera subdi-
tis. Sociad.

Virtutes
Princip's
per omniū
imperatorum
corpora dif-
funduntur.
Senec. de
Clement.

Princes; First, the care of them-
selues; Secondly, the care of
their subiects, Thirdly, the
care and iudicious choyce of
Councillours, officers, and
seruants. The first is the rule
whereby the second and third
are squared; the good life of a
Prince, is the fountaine from
whence

whence the waters of life, of
 countrey, city, and court flow:
 The Prince is the head, they
 the members, he is of no lesse
 force in their politicke body,
 then the head in a naturall;
 which being crasie or disca-
 sed, imparts sicknesse or death
 to the weaker parts; Princes
 are of star-like influence vpon
 inferiour bodies; If the ayre
 bee infected with an epidemi-
 call quality, they that dwell
 therein cannot be very sound:
 If Princes bee giuen to good-
 nesse and vertue, the subjects
 and seruants like apes imitate
 them; if vicious, they ex-
 ceed in all licenciousnesse and
 insolency: This exemplary life
 of Princes was the ground-
 stone

BAITAKON
 AOPON.
 Epist.
 Ex Plat.

Fla. vopisc.
in aurel.

stone whercon *Platoes* Repub-
licke was builded; old *Solons*
faithfull counsell to Princes,
was to goe before their people
in vertue and goodnes, which
precedency is the maintainer
of piety, honesty, and obedi-
ence: *Secundum iudicem populi sic*
Eccleſ. 10. 2. & *ministri eius*, saith the Wise-
man.

Philostat.
lib. 9;

The Annals of all nations
demonstrate, that whatsoeuer
vertues or vices Princes haue
followed, such were the pat-
ternes from whence the life of
subiectes and seruants were
drawne. *Efficacissimum est ex-
hortationis genus Principem hoc
facere quod ab alijs fieri velit.*

Ex dione
casio, lib. 9

As this personall care is the
first royall wisdom, and the
frame

frame of good gouernment; so is the wise election and making choyce of counsell and helpes (for supporting the heauy burthen of a diadem) the next neighbouring vertue. *Certum est Principem non posse sua scientia cuncta compl. Et, itaq; conciliari eorum quæ inter homines sunt diuinissimum est.*

Princes then are first to consult with that supreme King by whom they raigne; hee is *Magni consilij Angelus; admirabilis consiliarius*: without this counsell all other is erroneous and full of danger. *Dauid consulebat dominum antequam facta ardua ageretur.*

Next vnto diuine consultation, the helpe of counsellours

D 2 and

*Opera dan-
da, vt &
Princeps
suos mores
integros &
in corruptos
præstet rei-
publicæ &
quoad licet
omnes sub-
ditos, proce-
res, aulicos
ac ministros
sui similes
habeat.
Eras. in lit.
prin.*

*Esa. 96.
Humana
consilia ca-
stigan-
tur,
quædo Cæ-
lestibus
præferuntur.
Max. lib. 1.*

in matters of State, of good
experience, and such as by
their various fortunes haue
learned the art of counsel-
ling: *Mibi fortuna multis rebus*

Ioan. Pall.
pari: 1. c. 2. 9.

ereptis, vsum dedit bene suadendi,
saith *Mithridates*. Fifthly, coun-
sellours must bee calme and
humble, (euer shunning foo-
lish ambition and downe-
throwing pride.) But wellad-
uised and free in deliuering
their counsell, and full of cou-
rage in the execution of those
things, that doe concerne the
weale of their Soueraigne and
state. Sixthly, they are to
bee constant in their actions
and deliberations; *Prudens*
& *sapiens non semperit vno*
gradu, tamen semperit vna

con-
sultari o-
porteret, ope-
rari veloci-
ter: consu-
lere autem
tarde Arist.
Eth 6.
Consiliarij
sunt stabili-
tati: solidi.
ne moueant-
ur, timore:
amore, vel
cupidine.
in consilijs
dandis, lib.
5. Histor.
tripart.

D 3

Via.

via. Seuently, that they be modest in their gesture and actions ; *Nullius in uerba sententia sponte auctores , & quoties necessitas ingrueret prudenter moderantes.*

Adeo occultum tenebatur consilium apud Romanos, ut arcana Patrum conscripta multis seculis nemo Senatorum enunciauerit. Val. lib. 3. cap. 5.

Lastly, because secrecy is the key of the rich cabinet, wherein counsell is inclosed, Kings are to be carefull that their counsellours be secret and close in matters consulted vpon. *Taciturnitas optimum atque tutissimum rerum gerendarum vinculum , quia res magna non possunt sustineri ab eo cui tacere graue est.*

These be the rare rich robes, wherein counsellours are to be inuested ; whereof Princes are to take such notice that none be admitted to so eminent dignity

nity, without their wedding garments : That (if it be possible) they may bee cyther well knowne to the Prince, or by his diligent inquiry tryed by the touchstone of good fame. *Singuli decipere & decipi possunt, nemo omnes namine n omnes fefellerunt.* Next vnto the election of councellours, succeedeth the choyce of followers, officers, and seruants ; wherein there qualities, places, and number is to bee considered : For the first, King *Dauia* leadeth the way to succeeding Kings : *Ambulans in via Domini mihi ministrabit;* Let them be of the faithfull of the land, vertuous, diligent and honest in the discharge of their places, bending

Consiliari-
us tibi sic-
vntus ex mil-
le Eccles. 8.

Psal. 101.

Plat. 7. de
rep. Arist. 7.
6. Poli.
Thucyd. 6.
Plutarch Pol.

all their studies promptly, carefully to aduance the weale and honour of their Soueraigne; they that are in most eminent places, and neereſt to the perſons of Kings, as they ought to be well educated, generouſly inclined, endued with wit and diſcretion: ſo muſt they not thinke that all men are borne for them, and they for no man; but that the loue they owe to their countrey, tyes them (as feeling members of one body) modeſtly, and in a fit time to offer vp the griefes, or reaſonable ſuites of ſuch ſubiects whoſe condition, or place, admits them not to the preſence of Princes.

Laſtly, wiſedome aduiſeth
all

y, care-
le and
igne;
inent
e per-
ought
rouf-
h wit
they
are
for
they
tyes
s of
in a
fes,
uch
or
the
eth
all

all sort of followers of Princes,
(from the Cedars to the shrubs)
to shun softnesse, delicacy, and
idlenesse; to abandon all such
vices as are the poyson of
Countrey and Court: Such are
Atheisme, blasphemies, volup-
tuousnesse, flattery, detraction,
hypocrisie, & other such staines
of Court, as *Agricola* wisheth to
bee farre remooued from the
Courts of Christian Princes; &
which he pointeth out thus:

Fides, honestas, humilitas, ac veritas
Pudor decens, & mentis alma castitas,
Simplex nitentis pectoris prudentia,
Integritas, & omne virtutis iubar:
Ex principum modo palatij procul
Fugere quorum (proh dolor) vices gerunt
Fraus atra, perfidia, praeacitas, sales,
Calumnia, palpatio, ronchi, doli,
Nasuta sanna, scomma, ludus alea,
Potationum crebra concertatio

Et qui mol-
lia gestant
in domibus
regum sunt,
Math. 23.

Has posun-
das viti-
radices e-
uellat prin-
ceps.

Et Colloq.
Ger. Nou.
Agricol. in
proverb.
Ger.

*Summi nihil dei metus perpenditur,
Curatur & nihil respectus ultimi
Fati, nihil tormenta dira tartari.*

Quint.
Curt.

Ael. Spart.
Minus in-
iucunda est
aula, quam
infinita fa-
mulorum
maximè ser-
uiliū ca-
pitum, para-
sitōrū, Lur-
conum &
scurrarum
multitudo
complet.
Eras. de in-
st. Prin.

The last obseruation is in the number of attendants and seruants, wherein Princes (with *Alexander*) may more safely make choyce of few and sufficient, then (with *Xerxes*) of confused multitude of parasites, false louers, or ignorant followers, and the reasons be these :

First, as the most populous feast (although most sumptuously prepared) is full of clamors and incombrances, is troublesome to the master, and oftentimes ministers discontent to the guests: So populous courts are euer so interlarded with seruile, illiberall, thraasonicall, in-

intruding and vnprofitable spirits, that for their owne ends haunts the Court, and (although maintained with great charge) are euer subiect to quarrelling, wrangling, enuy, and discontentment, thereby enforcing Princes to leaue their kingly Soueraignty, and become painefull spectatours, diligent mediators ouer them, whom they ought to command. Secondly, where there be many followers, the most secret affayres of Kings are (by cunning of corrupt flatterers, spies, and intelligenciers) exposed vpon the rockes of discovery, and parat-like tongues of the same spreading vulgar. Thirdly, many attendants (by the

In infinita
aulicorum
multitudin
sunt Versi-
pelles, ex-
ploratores,
qui Late-
bras aularū
omnes ex-
cutiunt cō-
silia quæ
nouerint
produnt.
Petrar. dial.

the prodigall exhausting of re-
uenues) so disables Princes,
that (without emptying their
coffers , and impayring the
publike good) they can neuer
sariat the waste and inexplable
bellies of all such followers.

Arist. 5. ex
dione Caf.
So Val.
max. lib. 9.

Fourthly, *Paucos seruos bene re-
gere difficile, plurimos impossibile
est* : As it is difficill to gouerne
few well ; so it is impossible to
keepe many within the pre-
cinct of loyalty and obedience.

RAZIATRON
ΔΩΠΟΝ.
li. 2. fol. 70.

To shut vp all , the kingly
structure of Court, ought to be
a patterne of vertues, is builded
vpon the exemplary vertues of
Princes, strengthened and vp-
holden by the faithfull aduice
of honourable counsellours ;
preserued & garnished by true
hear-

hearted subiects, and domesticke: is ruined or defaced by such of those, as make other vse of their places, then that to which they were ordained: of whō Horace thus complaineth.

Orat. 1.
Epist. 15.

*Pernicies, & tempestas, barathrumq; macelli
Nos numerus sumus, & fruges consumere
Sponsi Penelopes, nebulones alcinoq; nati,
In cūte curanda plus agno operata iuuetus,
Cui pulchrū fuit in mediis dormire diebus,
Ad strepidū cibaria cessatum dūcere curū.*

SECTION. IIII.

What generall obseruations the happy and quiet gouernment of a Prince requireth.

THese bee the chiefe obseruations that are necessary for the right tempering

Greg. apud
Iob.

pering of the actions of Princes : and attaining to a wished calme amidst the tempestuous seas, wherein they daily saile;

First, that their desires be consonant to reason, then which there is nothing that more becomes the dignity of Kings.

• Cic. 1. offic.

Secondly, that they wisely estimate, the weight of matters in hand, lest more or lesse care be taken then is needfull.

Thirdly, that iudiciously they moderate those things which doe belong to the dignity, or indignity of affaires, neither comming short, or exceeding a Princely *decorum*.

Fourthly, that they bee courageous in suffering : free heart-
ted

in giuing: thankfull in re-
warding: mercifull in pardo-
ning, and (setting aside their
priuate respects) referre all to
the publike good: *Vt tutela sic* ^{Plato. de}
procuratio reipublicæ, ad utilita-
tem eorum qui comissi sunt, non
ad eorum quibus comissa est, ge-
renda est. ^{rep.}

Fiftly, that Princes manure
the whole body of their Em-
pire, by the equall distributi-
on of iustice, lest by labou-
ring to make one part too fer-
till, they leaue other parts
barren: *Totum corpus reipublicæ*
cura, ne dum partem aliquam tuea-
ris reliquas deferas.

Lastly, Princes are to make
vse of the worthy counsell, that
the Philosopher did giue to
Can-

Epist. in ad.
Eand. E.
pist. 9.

Candicius the Theban : which
was, that men of mature age,
grauity, & vpright iudgement,
might bee his Deligates and
helpers : that yong men might
goe to the warres, or be other-
wayes vertuously imployed.
That women might keepe
within doores : for (saied hee)
if old men sit by the fire : yong
men be giuen to idlenesse ; and
women goe about mens af-
fayres, the Common-wealth
shall neuer be without danger,
neyther thy person without
paine. *Principis est, pro salute
Reipublice & noua excogitare, &
antiqua restituere.*

SECTIO.

SECTION. V.

By what meanes the generous mindes of
Princes are knowne.

Although Salomon sayth,
Cor regis non perscrutabile
sicut altitudo Cali & incom-
prehensibile, sicut profunditas ter-
re: Yet as the powerfull pla-
nets of heauen, and the fruites
of the earth worketh vpon,
& nourisheth inferiour bodies;
so be there many heavenly in-
fluences & signes whereby the
generous mindes of Princes
are made knowne to their sub-
iects: some whereof I will
shortly touch.

First, the true generous
E minde,

Salomon
perit a deo
sapientiam
ad regendū
populum
dei, cui de-
dit Domi-
nus, Cor
sapiens &
intelligens
3. Reg. 3.

minde, of Princes, is knowen
by their due respect to the
Lawes of their Maker and Su-
preme King: with *Salomon* they
are earnest with God, that their
chiefe wisdom may be in his
obedience, their delight in his
commandements, that in their
owne time iustice and peace
may flourish, and that their
posterity after them may bee
worthy to sit in the chayre of
David.

Senec. E.
pist. 15.

Senec. E.
pist. 9.

Secondly, the minde of true
borne Princes, is not capable
of base and lordid actions, but
is delighted in high and rare
designes: for as the flame of
fire (whose nature is to as-
cend) cannot be depressed: so
the minde of such Princes, the
more

more noble, the more inclined
to Princely heroicke actions;
euer contemnes those things,
which the vulgar holdes most
deare. *Principis animus quo ve-*
hementior, eo nobilior & actuosior
est, nam fortis qui ad meliora
hunc impetum dedit, & extra ius
alitionemque fortuna se profudit;
Contemptor eorum quos vulgus ad-
miratur. Their care is to bee
approoued of the good, such
they preferre, such are their
counsellours, such are alwayes
about them; they are neuer
(tyrant-like) cruel, nor vindic-
tious; nothing offends them
more then the spoyle of vniust
officers or corrupt iudges. *Pes-*
centius imperitor Consiliarijs suis
ne vel aliquam onerandi pauperes
(300000)

Macrob. lib.
2 cap. 4.
Alexander
nihil animo
nisi grande
concepit.
Senec. de
benef. li. 2.

Era. Instit.
Princ.

occasionem haberet, addidit sallaria, dicens, iudicem ac officarium nec dare debere nec accipere.

D^{og}. L^{icet}.

Thirdly, such Princes suffer not good men; basely to prostitute themselves, or seruilly demand iustice; but are willingly inclined to giue accessse and hearing. *Aristippus*, being reprooued by his friend, for lying so long at the feet of *Dionisius*, answered: I am not in the fault, but *Dionisius* that hath cares in his feet.

Beroil de
opr. 112.
Baptist.
Fulg. lib 4.
Cic. ad
Brut.

This Princely minde is euer giuen to follow the workes of light, as charitie, peace, meeknesse, goodnesse and temperance; is wholly addicted to shun vices and follow vertue; wherin (euer keeping a golden meane)

meane) they are meeke and mercifull; but so as by lenity they nourish not the vices of their people: seuerer, not inclined to tyranny, but in repressing iniuries, & terifying others frō offering them. *Qui veterem fert iniuriam, multat nouam; si quis primus laeserat debitas dedisset penas, ceteri ab iniuria temperassent.* Chilon of Lacedemon aduiseeth Princes so to moderate their actions, as they be neither fearefull to their inferiours, or contemned of their equalls; the one sauiours of tyranny, the other of pusillanimity.

Fourthly, the mind of Princes is giuen to true liberalitie: Goodnesse and truth vpholde

Prou. 10.

the throne of Kings, base aua-

ryce is the ^{universal} chiefe of eu-
ills, and most distant from
true noble mindes.

It was written vpon the
tombe of queene Semiramis;
Quisquis Rex pecunys egurrit, o-

pereto monumento quantum volue-
rit, capiat; Couctous Darius ha-

uing taken the citie (expecting
great store of riches) caused
the monument to bee opened,

wherein he did finde nothing,
but this following inscription
vpon the other side of the

stone, *Ni vir malus esses, & pe-*
cunia inexplebilis, haud mortuorum
loculos moueres; wherof the mo-

rall is, that Princes are not cu-
riously to search, neither affect
perishing riches: *Auarus Prin-*

ceps, facultates suas non possidet,
sed

Erast. 7. apo.

sed ipsum possident.

Lastly, the constant high minde of Princes, is not troubled with vnsetled resolutions, but at all times is armed with true fortitude: they are neyther puffed vp with prosperitie neither dejected with aduersitie, their maiesticall countenance is euer one, at home or abroad.

Eraf. instie
Princ.

Rebus aduersis animosus acque

Fortis appare, sapienter idem

Contrahere vento nimium secunda

Turgida vela,

This Princely minde sim-
parhises with such as are of
vpright heart, constant and
true. *Placant regibus, labia iusta*
et reuerentia diliguntur. The true
friendship of Damon, and Pi-

Prou. 16.

Vol max
ca. 7.

Vol max
ca. 7.

Vol max
ca. 7.

thias was so pleasant to *Dionis-*
us (although a tyrant) that hee
not only pardoned the offence
of the one, but desired to bee
admitted into their friendship.
A poore man exhibiting his
bill fearefully to *Cesar*, was by
him thus checked, or rather
comforted. *An puras et assem-*
dare Elephanto.

In one word, the kingly
minds of good Princes, are free
of all such taints and violent
passions, as præcipitates maie-
stie; are endowed with true
patience, which is none of the
least Princely vertues; and was
so eminent in *Augustus Cesar*,
that he could abide the byting
jests of his meanest subiects.
Coniugia si irascere agnita viden-
tur

tur, sprete exoleſcunt. When Agathocles, the ſonne of a Potter (crowned with regall dignity) had beſieged a certaine towne, and entred the ſame, and had ſold ſuch for ſlaues, as had vniuſtly depraued him; hee did meekely tell them, (if they did ſo any more) hee would complaine to their maſters. *Non homines occidit, ſed ciuilit̃er illis expobarit & intempeſtiuam maledicentiam, & ſeruitutem maledicentie pr̃emium.*

Plat. in apo.

SECTION. VI.

Of Nobilitie.

WHere the ſeede of honour hath a true diſcent from nobilitie

litie of ancestors, a ground of
 vertue; springing by noble de-
 serts, continued with wisdom,
 and maintained with care, a
 fruitfull haruest, and plentifull
 winter cannot but follow: for
 as subiects are most easily in-
 elined to follow ancient nobi-
 litie; so oftentimes vertue fol-
 lowes nobilitie of blood, and
 is the chiefe meanes whereby
 Princes attaine to the due re-
 spect of neighboring friendes
 and subiects. Yet this nobility
 of ancestors is not so to bee re-
 lyed vpon, as if it could adde
 any thing (except seconded by
 goodnesse) to the dignity of
 Princes: For nobility is the
 act of time, and dieth with the
 Father, if the Son be not alike

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
 ΑΠΟΝ.
 lib. 1. fol. 97

Salust. in
 Jul.

oril

ver-

ad of vertuous. *Nobilitas cognatorum* Chrysoft. in
 e de non valet, nisi fuerimus nos ipsi bo Math.
 me; ni; Nobility then by descent
 e, a (without vertue) is rather an
 ifull imaginary and vulgar opini-
 for on, then reall and true nobi-
 in litie:

*Nam genus & prauios & quæ nō fecimus
 Vix ea nostra voca.* (ipsi)

It is a ridiculous and ostentatious
 true humour, to glory in the
 merit of others vertue; for
 certainly the splendour of an-
 cestours, is the greatest staine,
 that can taint degenerating po-
 sterity; the very name of a
 Prince, imposeth a necessity of
 well doing vpon Kings; to
 this purpose Chrysostome sayeth
 well, *Ille clarus, ille sublimis, ille
 tunc integram nobilitatem suam pu-*

rec

ter, qui dedignatur servire vi-
tijis & ab eis non vult supera-
ri. Ipbicrates, the sonne of
 a Shoo-maker (preferred to
 Emperiall dignitie) being
 taxed by degenerate *Hermo-*
dus) for the basenesse of
 his birth ; answered, I am
 the begianer of my nobili-
 tie ; but thou the extingui-
 sher of thine. *Caius Marius*
 did glory in the multitude
 of wounds hee had receiued
 in defence of his Countrey;
 not in the glorious monu-
 ments or images of his An-
 cestours. *Iuuenal* did hang
Publius Plancus (who vsed to
 boast himselfe discended from
 the noble family of *Drusus*)
 by the nose ; intimating to
 all

Erasapo.

Iuuenal.
sat. 5.

all succeeding proud glistening
Thraſoes (that like Statues are
 good for nothing but to
 looke vpon , or talke of the
 nobility , powerfullneſſe , ver-
 tues and riches of their An-
 ceſtours) that they are wor-
 thy to be laughed at. *Fronti-*
tinus gaue charge before his
 death , that no monument
 ſhould bee built for him :
 For , ſayd hee , if I haue
 liued vertuouſly , my me-
 morie ſhall not periſh ; ney-
 ther needeth any Monu-
 ment of Gold , Marble , or
 Braſſe : but if I dye vici-
 ouſly I am worthe of none;
 they ſhal rather reuiue my infa-
 my then illuſtrate my memo-
 ry. *Qui vere clarns videri velit ne*

Erast. apo.

oſten-

ostendit sculptas aut coloribus ad
 umbratas imagines, in quibus si
 quid vere laudis est, id pectori de-
 betur; sed potius virtutis moni-
 menta moribus exprimat.

SECTIO. VII.

Antidotes against the poisoning of
 vaine glory, and ambitious thoughts,
 that intoxicates the mindes of young
 Princes.

Ex C. inffir.
 Prin.

Although greatnesse hath
 euer many soothers in
 Vice, persons of base
 condition, attending and hem-
 ming it round, with perswas-
 ons of selfe conceits; yet is
 earthly glory a deceivable pic-
 ture drawne with false colours,
 blenished with enery breath,
 the

the worke of fortune, blindly
 imparted to the good and bad.
 On the contrary, the true sur-
 uey of greatnesse, is a diuine
 worke, and able to reſtraine
 the moſt powerful monarches
 from the dangerous pathes of
 pride, tyranny, and ambitious
 aſpiring. *Supra non extra homi-
 nes Princeps, non minus hominem ſe
 quam hominibus præſſe cogitet.*
 This ſerious examination hath
 the true originall from the due
 conſideration, what Princes
 are in their conception, in
 their birth, in their life, and
 what they ſhall be after death.
 They are (as all men) concei-
 ued in ſlime, borne naked, leſſe
 able then many more baſe
 creatures to take food, or helpe
 them-

Plin. Pan-
 get.

*Is vitam æ-
 qua lance
 penſitauerit
 qui ſemper
 fragilitatis
 humane
 memor fu-
 erit. Hiron.
 in Math.*

themselves; they liue not onely exposed to humane diseases and worldly cares, to which priuate men are subiect; but to many miseries, from which the vulgar are exempted: after their death, they must bee food for wormes, and againe, (with all men) assume those same bodies, and in them receiue a correspondent reward, as they haue vsed their talent.

Princes are to consider, that all goodnesse is the free gift of God; freely bestowed vpon them, for the weale of them and their subjects: but euery disordered affection, proceedeth from the corruption of nature, and enclineth ynto tyranny: They ought, to thinke that

Erast. in Mil.
Christ.

Erast. in Mil.
Christ.
Erast. in Mil.
Christ.
Erast. in Mil.
Christ.
Erast. in Mil.
Christ.
Erast. in Mil.
Christ.
Erast. in Mil.
Christ.

FOR PRINCES.

65

that their Vicegerency from
God is their greatest glory; that
they are to exercise it but for a
short time: that although they
bee entituled to all such glori-
ous titles as may exalte swelling
pride; yet who knoweth but to-
morrow they may bee (where
all kings before them are) the
foode of Serpents and Worms.
All flesh is but Dust and Ashes,
and therefore hath no cause to
be proud: It is like to the grasse
of the field, this day greene to-
morrow withered. Brittle is
the greatnesse that fadeth in a
moment. If Princes had the
wisedome of *Salomon*, the beau-
tie of *Absolon*, the strength of
Samson, the riches of *Cresus*, and
the long life of *Methusalem*,

Fortunam
tuā O Prin-
ceps, pressis
manibus te-
ne: lubrica
est, nec in
viro teneri
potest; im-
pone felici-
tati fraxos,
facilius eam
Reges. Curt.
lib. 8.

An ignoras
magnos ar-
bores diu
crescere, v-
na hora
extirpari
idem Curt.

F

what

August, de
nata. & gra.

Ambrosi in
exam.

what shall all these fayling vanities auayle, except by a vertuous raigne in this short kingdome of cares, they so dignifie themselves, that they may be entailed to an euerlasting kingdome of Ioyes. Where be the glorious shewes of most powderfull Monarchs? whose pride builded high aspiring *Babylon*, whose ambition one world could not containe? where be the inuincible Emperours that did ouer-rule the world, the horse, out-landish attire, nūber of attendants, leaders of troops and al other false pleasures that did atttend vpon pride? are they not turnd into ashes? doth not the least push of death make shepheards and kings equal?

qual? was not the birth of those
great Cedars of *Lebanon* weake,
their life inconstant, their death
putrification. i looke into their
sepulchers, and discerne who
was a king, who was a subiect,
who was rich, who was poore;
finde out (if thou canst) the vi-
ctor from the conquered, the
strong from the weake, the
beautifull from the deformed;
or trye some cause of humane
arrogancie, thou shalt finde
pride and ambition neither a-
mongst the counsels of the
wise, nor bodies of the dead.

Agap. ad
Iustin.

*Factus es princeps in terra, ne igno-
res te ortum ex terra ex puluere
ad solium ascendere, atque in eun-
dem puluerem discendere necesse est.*

SECTIO. VIII.

*How Princes ought to moderate
their power.*

THe due calling to mind
that a Prince is *homo* (vn-
der which all worldly
miseries and vanities are com-
prehended) ought to bridle his
power, and the consideration
that he is *Deus*, or, *vice Dei*,
Gods vicegerent, ought to curb
his will. *Meminerit princeps non
solum quantum sit tibi commissum sed
quatenus sit permissum. Quod libet li-*
cer, is the *dictum* of a Tyrant, &
theright mixture of contraries,
is the true temper of gouerne-
ment, nothing being more hurt-

*Memento
ait mihi
omnia in
omnes lice-
re. Suet.*

hurtfull to authoritie, then
 vntimely interehange of pres-
 sing and relaxing power. *Varie temperandum* *Sceperum* & *Plut.in apo.*
laxanda aut addenda imperij il-
le habena. The arrogant pre-
 sumption that all thinges
 are lawfull, is the poyson *Diog.lar.*
 which once drunke, makes
 Kings abuse their authori-
 tie and encline to licentious-
 nesse and tyranny. *Antigonus*
 did seuerely checke one of
 his Courtiours who did sug-
 gest that all things were
 lawfull for Kings. Not
 so (by *Iupiter*) sayd he, one-
 ly to tyrannous and barbarous
 Kings; but so mee nothing
 is lawfull but that which is
 honest and iust: authority is not
 giuen

giuen to be the supplement of vice or the protection of tyrannny; but to be the defence of vertue, and patterne of iustice.

Greg. 11.
Moral.

A recte agendo vocari Reger, quod recte agendo regale nomen obtinent amittunt peccando.

Erasm. in
lit. prin.

The right tempering of authority is sometimes to dull the edge of the imperiall sword with lenitie and mercy, which makes subiects more carefull to offend. Other times kingly authority is restrained from things that are lawfull to others: errors in priuate persons are vices and blemishes in kings.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝ.
lib. 1. fol. 2.

Finally, the affecting of iustice, the flourishing estate of the commonwealth, the modest life of subiects,

subiects, contempt and hatred
of tyrannous liberty, volup-
tuous and superfluous aboun-
dance, wicked followers, and
blindfolded ignorance is the
true extent of authoritie. *Ne a-
nimus inducas tuum alios debere
honeste vitam agere, regibus im-
modeste viuendi relicta licentia, sed ea
sis temperantia ut exemplum recte
uiuendi alijs constituas, compertum
habens subditorum mores prorsus ad
similitudinem principis componi.*

Argumentū
recte guber-
nati regni,
si subdito:
videas locu-
pletiores ac
vehementer
modestos
cura princi-
pis redditos.
Rein. lor.
Isocrat. ad
Nicol.

F 4 SEC 1

THESE ARE THE SEVERAL ACTIONS

OF A PRINCE

SECTION IX.

Whose image good and bad Princes
represent by what Epithetes
they are knowne, and of their se-
uerall actions.

Enf. 3. 4. 5.

Vt deorum
cū sint op-
time natura
propriū est,
benefacere
omnibus,
nocere ne-
mini: ita
princeps sa-
lutaris quo
nihil deo
proprius,
omnibus
prodesse ne-
mini stude
incomoda-
re. Plato. de
re. pub. ex
Iulio pol-
luc.

GOOD Princes represent
the image of God, whose
vicegerents they are;
him they do imitate (to whom
it is essentiall to be goodnelle it
selfe) in doing good to all, and
incommodating none. They
do not (like wolues) prey vpon
their people, but cherish and
protect them: they punish but
seldom, & then are vnwillingly
drawne to it; and therefore iust-
ly, such Princes are intituled to
the

the names, of fathers, religious,
meeke, gentle, prouident, iust,
humane, magnanimous, free,
liberall, contempters of riches,
commanding and ouerruling
their affections, of sound iudg-
ment, wise in counsell, sober,
vpright, firme, full of authori-
tity, princely Maiestie and in-
dustry, carefull watchers ouer
their people, ready to do good,
slow to reuenge, sure, constant,
enclined to iustice, easie to giue
accesse, courteous in speech, lo-
uing the obedient, louers, pro-
curers, keepers of peace, yet
friends to soldiers, and (if need
be) can be both kings and cap-
tains. Such Princes are born to
the good, doe liue with the fa-
uor, and die with the regrate of
all men.

On

Demost.
apud Stob.

Ex Erasmo.

On the contrary, if *Apelles* should delineate a tyrannous wicked Prince, he could not do draw it otherwise the by the pattern of the Prince of darkenes, a monstrous mishapen creature, an armed dragon with many eyes, more teeth, sharpe clawes, insatiable belly, crammed with humane blood, euery way fearfull, and offensive to all, but especially to good men, abusing his power, to the preiudice of the Commonwealth. Such a Prince was *Nero*, such was *Caligula*, such was *Heliogabulus* and many others, whose birth and life were plagues to the world, and did iustly merite the Epithetes of tyrants, vngodly, cruell, sauage, violent, auaritious,

de-

deuourers of their people:
prowd, difficill in giuing ac-
cesse, vncourteous, irefull, terri-
ble, slaues to lusts, intemperate,
inconsiderate, inhumane, vn-
iust, light, vnconstant, incorri-
gible, contumelious, the au-
thours of warre, haters and di-
sturbers of peace, borne to be
the (*Tamerlanlike*) scourges of
the world, reigning with dis-
content, and dying with ap-
plause of all good men.

Tamerlanes
Scitharum rex ro-
garus, quid
tantum se-
uitiae indul-
geret, toruo
vultu resp6-
diffe fertur,
anme homi-
nem esse pu-
tas, an pon-
potius dei
iram ad ho-
minum per-
niciem in
terris agen-
tem, Sabel,
de ir.

As the Epithetes of good &
wicked Princes are, so are their
actions different, the one ad-
uances & Confirmer the com-
mon good, preferres it to al pri-
uate respects: tyranny aymes al-
together at their owne private
ends, neglects the publicke
good

Salust. in
Caill.

good; either approving the detestable oath of Oliarchy, *Plebem odio persequemur & pro viri-*

Arist. pol. 5.

li admitemur ut illi sit male, Or with arrogant *Xerxes* consulting vpon affaiers rather to shewe their power; then for the weal of their subiects: *Ne viderer*

Bras. apo. 5.

meo consilio aggressus contraxi, vos, interim mementote mihi parendum magis quam suadendum.

In a word the difference betwixt good and bad Princes; is such, as is betwixt louing fathers, and rigorous Masters; the one affectes the weale, and health of their children; the other the gaine they make by their slaues. Good Princes commands things that are profitable to the State, Ty-

ran-

— 1008

rants such as are pleasant, to their owne humours. It is the glory of good kings to follow vertue, of tyrants to embrace vice, of good Princes to be secured by the loue of their subiects, of tyrants by the strength of wals, and multitude of guards.

Isocrat. de bell. fugien.

Finally, the frame, the actions and qualities of good Princes and Tyrants are so vnlike and different as God and *Belial*, Light and Darknesse, White and Blacke: so that there is no blessing vnder heauen giuen to man more profitable then religious wise Princes, no greater curse aboue hell, more pernicious then Tyrants, placed in authoritie.

Cicero of. sic. 3.

I haue insisted this farre vpon these diuers attributes and differences, that thereby good Princes may bee incited (at fit times) to peruse the Annals & Histories of former times, wherein they may reape much fruite, by conferring things past with things present, *Nihil nouum sub sole*, there they shall finde the true proportion, liuely colours, and bright shining lustre of vertue, and the vgly deformed shape of black neuer dying infamy. *Principibus bonis nihil melius, contra nihil peius tyrannis qui eiusmodi belluæ sint, ut non alia sub sole portenta neq; noxia, neque magis omnibus inuisa.*

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝ.
li. 1. fol 93.
Eccles. 1.

SECTION. X.

By what meanes a Prince may secure himselfe in his kingdome and obtaine the loue of his subiects.

AS wisedome (which is the brightnesse of the euerlasting light, the vndefiled myrror of the Maiesty of God, and image of his goodnesse) is the sure ground of the stately pillar of gouernement: so is the fauour of subiects, the maintainer of so glorious building, and the kingdomes that are gouerned by the vertue of Princes, and loue of subiects are most quiet and firme. The most vndomeable beasts are made

*Prudentia
ad omnis
res huma-
nos vsus,
sed ad impe-
rium maxi-
me quod, si
ne ea non
solum infir-
mum sit sed
nullum. Lip.
lib. 3. c. 2.*

made more easily mylde, by gentle familiar vsage, then by roughnesse or stripes; and the loue of Subiects (without which Princes can neuer be secured) is sooner conciliate, by beneuolence, then by vnbridled authoritie and crueltie.

Mat. 5.

Psaime. 3 6.

Blessed are the mecke in heart for they shall possesse the inheritance of the earth, and I shall be delighted in the multitude of peace, was not written in vayne, but for the instruction of kings, & establishing of kingdomes, by the fruits of wisdom, not by the effects of Phalarisme. *Ciuihus placere stude, habet id multum gratie,* was the worthy sentence of Bias: for (sayd he) if Princes should desire to equall or exceed Ce-

crops

crope in nobilitie, *Policrates* in happinesse, *Crasus* in riches, *Xerxes* in armies, *Cæsar* in victories, and *Pompey* in tryumphs: no helpes can so auayle them as the vnited and true loue of subiects, which is the impregnable strength, and neuer emptyed treasure of kings; *Non sic excubie, non circumstantia pila* Eraf. in paneg. ad Philip.
quantutator amor. claudiam in uonful. honor.

The Empire of kings ouer their subiectes is compared to the command of fathers ouer their children, or masters ouer their schollers: as he is no louing father that beates his son for euery slight fault, and no lesse cruell master that punisheth his scholler for the natural defects of his sight or hearing. Senec. de Clemenc.

G

So

Ferina est
rabies lan-
guine gau-
dere & vul-
neribus, ab-
iecto homi-
ne in silue-
stre animal
transire.
Rhen. Lor.

So many rigorous precedets of punishment are no lesse disgracefull to a king, then many buryals to a Physition. *Seueritas amittit assiduitate authoritatem.*

The more remisse kings gouerne, the more they are honoured, loued, and obeyed: no vertue becommeth them better then clemency; neither more surely bindeth the hearts of people. What is more ioyfull then to rule with the applause of men? Who dares imagine any harme against that Prince that is meeke and mercifull, vnder whose sheltring wings Iustice, Peace, Security and Honours flourish? Meekenesse and Mercy establissheth the throne of a king: Pride and Crueltie

Ecd. 10:15.
Luka 1.52.
& 14.11.

ouer-

ouerthrowes the seate of a Tyrant. *Sedes diuorum superbiorum destruxit Deus, & sedere fecit mites pro eis.* The house of the wicked shall be ouerturned, but the tabernacles of the godly shall flourish. Let the short raigne and tragicall end of *Dionysius; Caligula, Vitellius,* and many others; (whose tyrannous life hastned their wished; yet immature death) confirme that no tyranny is of long continuance, that such are much deceiued that dreames stabilitie, or securitie to Princes without goodnesse. *Existimatum deum te tuto regnare cum uolentibus imperas:* the Prince that wants the fauour of his people hath lost his chief guard and that Prince that is fearfull

Psalms

Ecclesi. 10.
10. & 18. 19.
1. Sam. 2. 7.
8.

Thales Milesius interroganti.
quid difficile scire inquit,
videre tyrannum.
ap. Stob. Cic. 5.
offic.

Non sunt
ad aenantina
imperij vin-
cula quæ
Dionysius
Tyrannus
distitabat.
ex Plur.

Act. Soart.

to many, must of necessitie be
afraid of many. *Dionysius* the
Tyrant excruciated with this
feare, did make choice to suffer
the paine of singeing the haire
of his beard with hot fire, ra-
ther then comit his conscious
life to the trust of a Barbors
rasor. *Alexander Pharees* neuer
entered his *Queenes* chamber
before diligent search was
made, that no priuate weapon
were hidden in it: yet (if wee
will wade into the shallow
brookes of the heathen) wee
shall find that the liues of these
and thousand more of heathen
Princes was tyrannous, & their
death miserable: but we *Chri-*
stians learne our lesson from
our maker. *Mihi vindicta, ultio*

mea

mea est, ego retribuam, sayth the
 Lord. We must thinke our sins
 the iust cause of our afflictions,
 and that God sometimes sends
 wicked kings to the punishmēt
 of wicked people; and as God
 giueth them for the punish-
 ment of sinne: so must Gods
 people onely by repentance
 and amendment, submit them-
 selues to his pleasure, in whose
 hands are the hearts of kings.
 It is not lawfull to think an ill
 thought of kings, far lesse to lay
 hands on the Lords annointed.
 Let not the hād but the hart of
 a traitor be acursed, let his flesh
 be carnage to the foules of the
 aire, his bowels sacrificed to the
 hangmā, & his memory eterni-
 sed vpon the tables of blacke

Deut. 32.
 Rom. 11.

Dabo reges
 in furore
 meo.

Osee. 13.

Qui malum
 rectorē pa-
 nist Deum
 non acuser,
 quia sui sunt
 meriti, per-
 uersi rector-
 is subiacere
 ditioni. Gre.
 sup. Iob.

Potestas
 omni. siue
 bona, siue
 mala, i deo
 est, itaque
 potest et ius
 siue bonis,
 siue malis
 honoribus
 endus est.

Augu. con-
 tra Manicha-

Rein. Lor. infamy. But to come to my purpose; Ifay a Prince hath many gates to receiue the fauour & loue of his people, amongst which I shall shortly poynt at foure.

First, because pride is hateful to all men; Princes shall shun the enuy that comes thereby, if they do not boast of their high fortune, power, riches, or what else is more deare vnto them, accounting no otherwise of them, then as of the vncertaine goods of fortune; and that they can auayle them no further, but according to the good or bad vse of them. Modestie and humility are no lesse eminent in Princes then subiects, and are the attractiue Adamants

Eccles 10. 7.

Cic. de orat.

Senec. Epist.

12. 1. in sup

Plut. in. Pol.

P. xentia.

in. in. in. in.

in. in. in. in.

in. in. in. in.

in. in. in. in.

in. in. in. in.

damants that drawes the loue of subiects to their king: we do see the motion of the Sunne is most slow, when it is highest in his Zodiacke: So the more highly greatnesse is promoted, it ought to be the more settled & calme. *Salomon* (to this purpose) giueth aduice; *My sonne, in all thy workes embrace meeknesse, and thou shalt be loued above the glory of men.*

Greg. mo.
ral. 17.

Eccles. 3.

Secondly, there be two things peculiar vnto kings, of themselves iust and lawfull, whereof the timely or vntimely pressing auayleth much to conciliate the loue or dislike of subiectes. The first is, imposing and raising of subsidies for the publicke good, and maintaining of

the great charges of kings : although they be as due to them from their people, as iustice, clemency, and protection is from

Rom 13.6.

Mat. 22.21.

Mar. 12.17.

Luc. 20.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ

ΔΩΡΟΝ.

lib. 2. de fol.

99.

Pater meus

cecidit vos

flagellis ego

cedam vos

corporibus.

1. Reg. 11.

Phil. Com.

10.

Xen. in Cir.

Princes to subiects: yet are they to bee imposed as seldome as may be, and onely when the weighty affaires of Princes and state so requires. *Ieroboam* by imposing heuy burthens & exactiōs vpon his people was punished by the cutting off ten tribes frō his kingdomes; wherby is intimated to future posterity that altaints of (tiranlike) oppressiō & base auarice (euer liable to contempt) are frō kings far to be remoued. The other obseruatiō is in making of new, or reforming ancient lawes or customs crept into abuse, or remouing such

such as at the institution were profitable, yet for the present time, are either hurtfull or not necessary: in all which Princes are to keep such tēperate, mean, as their proceedings may be warranted by the generall consent of the most wise and best sort of subiects, and freed from all suspition of particular ends or rashnes. *Nouum omne, & quod incognitū est, suspectū est.* The very name of nouelty, is oft times more offensiue to state, thē the benefit that cōmes therby profitable. For this cause Princes somtimes tolerate such things as without the preiudice of the Common-wealth, and their royall dignity, may be suffered: otherwise things that haue had long continuace are by little

Legis legibus non recreatur matrescent, Plat. de leg.

Arest 1. pol

Dion. 21.
Thuc. 6.

and little to bee reformed. *Si quid eiusmodi erit ut ferri possit: aut tollere conueniet, aut commode ad meliorem vsum deflectere.*

Thirdly, if Princes shewe themselues affable and exorable not vindiectiue and seuerie in the rigorous execution of lawes for euery light offence; they shall much oblige the fauour and obedience of their subiects: for as impunity begetteth contempt of lawes: so frequent punishment ingenerates hatred, senselesse stupiditie, carelesnesse, & contentious repugnancie. *Marcus Antonius* was so familiar with his subiects that hee did louingly name some father, some son, according to their dignities & qualities. This Prince-

Princely familiarity made him
so beloued, in his life time & at
his death so condoled with the
brinish teares of his sorrowfull
subiects, that it is recorded to
his neuer dying prayse: *Cum ex-*
treum diem clausisset, tantus illius
amor, eo die regij funeri claruit, ut
nemo illum non plangendum cen-
suerit.

Fourthly, because animaduer-
sion in the liues and manners
of people, euen in matters
whereof penall lawes takes lit-
tle or no hold, is powerfull in
conquering the loue of sub-
iects, and to eternise the memo-
ryes of Princes with true glory.
They are carefully to curbe
blasphemy, luxury, Drunken-
nesse, prodigality, idlenesse, and
such

Quæ hæc
tempore ha-
bemus bona
ob nullam
aliam cau-
sam adepi-
sumus, quâ
ob præstitâ
obedientiâ
principi.
Pith. apud
Srob.
Salust. ad
Cæsar.

Iuuenal. Sa-
6.
Tacit. 13. l.
Anal.

such other vices as are (in all ages and sorts people) repugnant to godlines or good manners.

Prauas artes malasq; libidines ab iuuentute prohibebūt, a senibus eas voluptates quas eorum ætas sine dedecore non attingit, ab vniuersa plebe otium. They are carefully to pre-

Vbi diuitiarum cupido inuasit, neque disciplina, neque bonæ artes satis pollent itaque merito princeps pecuniæ studium tollit, aut quo ad res feret minuit, atque alligabit illud vrbibus vetus, s; nebre malum. Arist. pol. 7. Tacit. 6, anal. Plin. paneg.

sucking vsury, & exorbitant extortion, so oft accursed in Gods sacred word, & accounted (with traitrous *Iudas* his 30. peeces) the price of blood. Lastly, Princes are to forbid all sumptuous riot and prodigally profused charges in building : *ne nimis struant, aut instruant* : in house keeping or dyet : *ne luxous mensæ profusis sumptibus exerciatur*. That in clothiug a decent modestie amongst

mongst all degrees, sexes and
ages be kept, *Ne vestis promiscua viris & feminis, nobilibus, & plebeijs, nam conuiuiorum luxuria & vestium, agræ ciuitatis indicia sunt.*

SETCIO. XI.

Princes ought be easie in giuing accessse, and ready to heare the complaints of the oppressed and poore

THe hearing of the causes of subiectes the iust balancing & determining them, is the chiefe part of a kings office. *Mercy and truth establisheth the throne of kings, but hee that regardeth not the crye of the poore, shall cry and not be heard.* To this purpose S. August. aduiseeth

ΒΑΥΙΑΤΙΚΟΝ
 ΔΕΠΟΝ.
 lib. 2. fol. 35.
 Dives rogans in tormentis, non exauditur, quia rogantem pauperes rem non exaudiu in terris.
 August. hb. de diuit.

Princes

Princes to be easie in giuing of
 accessse, & hearing of the com-
 plaints of all men, *Quia inaudi-
 ti atque indefensi tanquam inno-
 centes pereunt.* Moses did heare
 the people frō morning til eue-
 ning. *Erod.* 18. 19 Salomon did wisely deter-
 mine the cause of a poore pro-
 stitute harlot. His father *Dauid*
 did delight in vpright iudge-
 ment. But to leaue this diuine
 Ocean, and come to the shal-
 low riuers of the heathen; *Oc-
 tauius Augustus* did sometimes
 spend whole dayes, and best
 part of the night in the admi-
 nistration of iustice. *Alexander*
Seuerus did the like, and did se-
 uerely punish such subordinate
 Magistrates as were found
 slacke in their office. *Metbrida-*

tes

res did minister iustice in 21.
languages to the people vnder
his Empire. *Imperatorem stantem
mori oportet, hoc est in causis audi-
endis, rebusque componendis strenu-
um & erectum vsque ad extremum
vita momentum oportere.* As the
people do much magnifie and
honor such Princes as willing-
ly doe heare their complaynts
and determine their causes: So
doe they contemptuously (al-
though seeretly) hate those,
whose pryde, tyrannous answers
and difficill accessse, do vnwor-
thily challenge the name of
Empyre. Amongst these was
Demetrius who (after two years
attendance) did returne the *A-
thenian* Embassadours without
answer; and at another time
did

Mulier quæ
dam Adria-
num Cæsa-
rem rogauit
ut se audiret
cui ille, otium
mihi non
est, illadein-
de clamans
ait, noli er-
go imperar.
Ex Plur.

Beroal de
opt. statu.

did publish, that vpon a certain
day ensuing hee would heare
the complaints of such as were
griued: but when at the pre-
fixed time hee had liberally re-
ceiued their petitions, hee did
throw them all into the riuer:
Axis, by which carelesse dis-
couery of himself he did migh-
tily exasperate and alieariate the
hearts of his people. Good prin-
ces are to direct their course
(by the compasse of a good
conscience) a quite contrary
way: they are not to throw the
groanes of their subiects in the
riuers of obliuion, neither in
the all consuming fire of care-
lesnesse, nor commit them to
such persons who endeares
more their owne priuate gaine
then

then the publicke good : but are to appoynt them seasons of hearing, and returne them louing and Princely answers. If sometime multiplicity of state affaires withdraw them, they are carefull that their deligates neither carelessly deferre hearing, nor coueteously exact vpon suitors. The obscure life of the *Persian* kings, and cōmitting all the affaires of state, to subordinate persons, was neuer approued of the wise, and euer recorded to their discredit. Lastly, (to trusse vp al) it is the glory of kings to imitate those famous Princes that did equally administer iustice, giue easie access, louing answers, strengthening the weake,

H and

*Erasm. in.
lit. princ.*

*Perfarum
reges, domi
abditū vitā
exigebant,
omniaque
regni nego
tia reicie
bant in cō
siliarios ac
officiarios:
Erasm. in
lit. princ.
Senec. de
clement.*

and rewarding the vertuous,
and punishing the wicked, and
were carefull that their Deli-
gates did second their expecta-
tion in the trust committed to
them- This kingly function ra-
uisheth the hearts of subiects
to their Prince, and freeth Prin-
ces from the propheticall sen-
sure. *Principes tui infideles, socij
ferum, omnes diligunt munera, se-
quuntur retributiones: Pupillo non
in'icant & causa vidue non ingre-
ditur ad illos.*

Eccles. 17.

SEC.

SECTION. XII.

Of the necessitie of Princes knowledge in the affaires of their Empire, and presence (so farre as is possible) in the administration of Iustice.

THe ancient Hieroglyphicke description of Princes, (picturing scepters with eyes) did mystically containe the most necessarie parts of the office of kings; whose quicke seeing eyes must see into the most darke corners of their dominions. The Sunne is the eye of the world, but sees not, but the king giues light to

H ₂ his

Deus in
celo: con-
stituit solē,
omnia ful-
gore suo
perlustran-
tem: ita in-
ter homi-
nes prin-
cipem, cuius
oculorum
perspicaci-
tas luceret
in populo,
cunctisque
perspiceret
colocauit;
Iust. Cæsar
Homer.
Illiad,

his subiects: must with Eagles eyes looke vpon all subiects, pry into all Courts, obserue Iudges and Officers; lest the golden cloaked reasons of the rich or corrupted ouersway the innocency of the poore. *Princes* are the keepers, or (as *Homer* calls them) shepherds of their

Studeat im-
primis prin-
ceps regio-
nis acci-
dens cum si-
tutis, consue-
tudinibus, in-
geniis, insti-
tutis: popu-
los cognos-
cere, *Erasmus*
de instit.
princip.

people. *Ne subditi a Deo op'imo maximo sibi concrediti a lupis rapacibus deuorentur* : They are

exactly to know the true estate and peccant humours of their people; to which they may easily attaine, by Geography, History, frequent progresse, and sure intelligence: by these they shall learne the scituation of their seuerall Countreys or

Prouin-

Eagles
 subjects,
 obserue
 est the
 of the
 ay the
 Prin-
 Homer
 of their
 op:imo
 rapa-
 are
 true
 ours
 hich
 by
 fre-
 sure
 hey
 of
 or
 in-

Prouinces, the customes,
 liues and manners of their
 people. It is written to the
 prayse of King *Ierion*, that
 hee had many hands, more
 feete, and but one minde, by
 which hee gouerned his peo-
 ple: That many other wise
 Princes haue secretly employ-
 ed such, of whose integritie
 and loue to the publicke good
 they were well assured; to
 take true information of the
 remifnesse or strictnesse of
 gouernement: in what estate
 publicke and priuate affaires
 did remaine: how the people
 were affected to obedience
 and vertuous liuing: whether
 Iudges, Magistrates and Offi-
 cers were enclined to Iustice

Princeps tā
 acutē quam
 serpens Epi-
 daurus cer-
 nere debet,
 quid in can-
 cellarijs,
 quid in dis-
 casterijs a-
 gam, an Iu-
 lis iudicijs,
 iudicetur
 populus.
 Macrobi, li. 3
 Deligat
 princeps
 quosdā, vel
 aulicorum,
 vel subditi-
 rum, non a-
 uaros, sed fi-
 de charitate
 conspicuos,
 quos clan-
 culū ad sin-
 gulos regni
 terminos ab-
 leget, expil-
 catum &
 perceptum
 omnes vel
 relaxationes
 vel agra-
 uationes im-
 perij. Arist.
 Pol.

Presentia
principis fa-
cit omnia
iusto ordine
procedere
Arist. Aec6.

si magna
paruis licet
componere,
vt oculus
Cresini fer-
tilissimum
agrum ita
principis o-
culus par-
uam rem-
publicam
florentissi-
mam reddit
Agricol. in
prouerb.
Ger.

and vpright dealing, to the
publicke good, or their priuate
gaine: that after true notice
thereof, such mylty cloudes as
did ouer shadow their people,
might (by the Sunshine of re-
formation) be dispersed. But
although this secret enquire
by others is prayse worthy,
yet is the presence of princes (so
farre as is possible) of much
more consequence. *Non tam fi-
liciter procedunt, quæ oculis agis alie-
nis, quam quæ oculo domini presente
administrantur.* Caius Furius Cresi-
nus being accused for the pra-
ctising of sorcery, in multiply-
ing the encrease of a little field
of corne, answered, *Omnia instru-
menta mea rustica in forum afferro,
venificia mea Quirites hæc sunt:*
then

Then
gence
all pr
is no
Prin
neith
subi
of th
wha
tem
ther
pidi
fecl
(v
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are
oft
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Then layde hee open his diligence, his paines and continuall presence, then which there is nothing more bebecoming Princes in their royall office, neither more profitable for subiects in the augmentation of their priuate gaine : for to what greater indignity or contempt can Princes bee lyable then to cecity and senselesse stupiditye? by which they doe not feelee the abuses, whereby (vnder the vayle of their princely authority) the poore are oppressed, the sweat and oft times the blood of the miserable and weak is exhausted, the possessions, houses, fields, goods of widdowes and orphants (by these that in wickednesse

Principes
dormitantes,
suboriri solent
impostores
fraudulenti, se-
naratores
auari, & ex-
actores in-
iusti, qui
suis stipen-
dijs nun-
quam con-
tenti, misero-
ros subditos
concutiunt
exauriunt
& perdunt.
Rhein. Lor.

kednesse and authority are powerfull) are either deceytfully purloyned, or violently bereft. By the strickt obseruation or carelesse neglect of this princely suruay, many famous kingdomes haue flourished, or beene vtterly ruinated: amongst which I wil illustrate this poynt, by a short view of the causes of the large dominions, long continuance, and sodaine ouerthrow of the Romaine Empire.

Romani propter oculatissimam in publicis functiones intentionem atque conseruatas iustitie leges, sapientissimi atque optimi duces ubique gentium celebrati sunt; Rectores ac domini totius ferme terrarum orbis floruerunt tantisper
dum

Val. Max.
lib. 4.

E
dum I
cordie
runt:
tas, l
generi
ingru
imper
genti
Roma
daeto
Etis
plum

dum Iustitiæ studium, atque concordie in imperio suo non emarcuerunt: at postquam ambitio, simulas, luxus, ac pecuniæ libido, (quæ generis humani certissimæ pestes) ingruerunt, statim præpotens illud imperium, præclara dignitas, atque gentis omnibus stupenda Populi Romani maiestas, ad nihilum reducta corruit, in memorabile cunctis mundi gubernatoribus exemplum.

SEC-

SECTION. XIII.

Of Lawes and Iustice.

ALL humane lawes may
bee reduced to a three-
fold diuision, viz. to the
lawes of nature, the lawes esta-
 blished, and to the ancient co-
 stomary lawes. That which
 the ancients did call the law of
 nature (as to do good and shun
 euill, doe to others, as we wold
 others should doe to vs) needes
 no great learning, because na-
 turall reason draweth men to
 the knowledge of it.

Reg. de leg.

August. de
Ciuil. dei.Aul. Gel.
lib. 5.

The lawes established are
such as are prescribed by Em-
perours

FOR PRINCES. A FIF

rours and Kings for the go-
uerntment of their people, and
do consist, partly in reason,
partly in opinion.

Customary lawes are such,
as by little and little, haue bin Helinand.
brought among people, and lib. 7.
haue no other force, but in be-
ing well or ill obserued. In
short, we call the law of nature
that which reason commands;
the lawe established that
which is written and confir-
med: customary Law that
which hath long beene, and
now is in vse.

Other ancient lawyers Gratian.
subdiuides lawes, in lawes of lib. 3.
nations, ciuill lawes, consular
lawes, publicke lawes, military
lawes, Romane lawes, and
lawes

lawes of Magistrates.

Papinian.
lib. 3.

The law of nations is a law by all people generally obserued: (as to seize vpon that which hath no owner, to defend their countrey) it is called the law of nations, because amongst all nations it hath bin generally receiued and obserued.

Iustin. Cod:
4.

The ciuill law hath the institution frō the right instructiō and prosecution of processe: to assigne time, to answer, accuse, proue, oppose, cite, alledge, report, conclude, giue sentence & to execute it, to the end that euery one might haue their due and be defended from wrong. Consular law did enact what men of life Consuls should bee
what

habit they should haue, how they should be accompanied, ^{Trog. Pom. lib. 2.} where they should assemble, of what affairs they should treat, how long they should sit, and what goods they should possess. This law was peculiar ^{Iust. lib. 22.} onely to the Consuls of Rome. *Leges Quiritum* were Roman lawes or priuiledges, proper to foure sorts of noble, ancient, & worthy Roman gentlemé, *Patricijs, veteranis, militibus, & Quiritibus*: al which names were imposed according to the variety of time: by this law they were priuiledgd to sit in their tēples, not to be imprisoned for debt; & if any of thē were seized by pouerty, to bee sustained vpon the common good, to be liable onely

onely to the Iudicatory of Rome, to bee free of taxes and subsidies, and to haue the benefit of diuers other priuiledges, that none except the aboue named persons enioyed.

Leges publica were common ordinances or statutes, that all the people did obserue, as repaying of Temples, common houses, walls of citties, measuring of streets, prouiding of things needfull to the common vse, gathering of taxes, impositions, and the like.

Capitoll.
lib. 3.

Veget lib. 7

Lawes Militar were such as were made by those of iudgement and experience, to whom the ordering of military affairs was committed, and do chiefly consist in denouncing war,

vlscio

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Prin
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Lex
to b
Lex
or c
law

confirming peace, making appoyntments, taking assurance, in paying of souldyers, setting of guards, watches and sentinels, making of trenches, assigning of battels, in giuing the assault, making the retreat, redeeming prisoners, appoynting of tryumphs, and finally, in whatsoeuer did concerne the gouernment of military affayres.

The lawes of Magistrates were lawes made by diuers Princes and Consuls, and had their names frō the authors; as

Corn. Neap.

Lex Cæsarea commanded gates to be open at time of meales: *Lex Pompeia* did assigne tutors or curators for pupils: by the law *Cornelia*, lands were diuided

ded. By the law *Augusta*, *Augustus* did impose tributes vpon the people for the publicke good. The Consul *Falcidius* enacted the law *Falcidia*, by which fathers were holden to be carefull for the education of their children. By the law *Sempronia* it was enacted, that no father might disinherit his sonne, not being a traitor to the Roman Empire.

But (because the variety of laws is impertinent to my purpose) I will come to the most necessary considerations that princes are to lay before them in making, disanulling, renewing, interpreting, & executing of lawes.

First, in the making of lawes.

(as

(as the necessitie of time shall require) kings are to consider, that *lex Dei*, is, *via regalis*; *quæ nec ad dextram, nec ad sinistram declinat*. First, these things which doe belong vnto the true worship of God, are to be confirmed: next, those things that are conuenient for the commonwealth; then those that are honest and commendable, & thereafter things profitable: the laws made must be rather wholesome then many, that they taste not of couetousnesse, oppression, or priuate gain.

BAZIAIKON
 AQPON
 lib. 2. fol. 27
 Ex tractat.
 de 12. abus.
 Omnium
 legum est
 inanis cen-
 sura nisi di-
 uinæ Legis
 imaginem
 ferat.
 Aug. de
 C. in. D. 6.
 Possid. lib. 3
 Plat. 4. de
 rep. 6. de
 leg.

Lawes may bee disannulled wholly, when they are repugnant to religion and pollicy: in part, when some things ate to

Arist. 1. in
 Rhet.

bee changed which formerly
the necessitie of time, or some
other causes haue tollerated.

In the interpretation of
laws, sanctity & equitie, rather
then the literall meaning are
to be respected, lest by wrested
glosses, legitimate lawes be ba-
stardized, white be made black
and blacke white.

Arist. 7. pol
Plato. 1. 10
de Rep.

In the execution of laws, vn-
derstanding what good is to be
done, what euill is to be repres-
sed, is required, who are wor-
thy of reward, who of punish-
ment: for the lawes are no lesse
ordayned to defend and prefer
the vertuous, then to punish the
wicked. The execution of laws
must neither be ouer strictly, or
remissely vrged, but enforced
or

or moderated as occasion shall
 serue, and offenders merit, *Sum-*
mm ius, est summa iniuria;
 when seueritie hath his rigour
 oft times it pulleth vp many
 goodly plants; which (being
 manured with clemency)
 might produce many excellent
 fruits of obedience, seruice and
 merit.

ΣΑΥΙΑΤΚΟΝ
 ΑΝΘΡΩ
 ΠΙΝΟΝ
 lib. 1. fol.
 30. & 85.
 Seueritas
 nisi in tra
 cōgurentes
 nocentium
 p̄uas se
 coercet,
 sedus cru
 delius est.
 Lact lib. 6.

Lastly, the equall obserua
 tion of lawes and distribution
 of iustice by Princes is careful
 ly to be looked vnto least the
 mighty and powerfull offen
 ders escape, & onely the weake
 and poore bee punished and
 wronged. Old *Cato*, Stoicall
Dingins, wise *Anacharsis*, and
 many others, did complayne
 vpon this error, because they

Amor & o
 dium, &
 proprium
 cōmodum
 faciunt. Sæ
 pe Iudicem
 non agnos
 cere verita
 tem, Arist.
 Rhet. 1.

did well know that it is the height of vniustice to execute lawes in equally.

Contingit sepe numero, ut qui parua tollunt deprahensi pendant, magnorum autem raptiores aut splendidi depeculatores (factis argento vij.) euascent.

Arist. apud
Dioz. lib. 4.
Sine iustitia
ne Iupiter
quidē prin-
cipem agere
potest.
Lud. Viues
super Aug.
Eurip. in
Orel.

The Princely distribution of iustice, is nothing else but *summi cuique tribuere*, is the helme of gouernment, the happinesse of kings and people. From Iustice ariseth religion, peace, truth, innocency and true friendship: in it Princes are to bee noble, iudicious, graue, seuer, inexorable, powerfull, and full of maiestie; neither enclining to the right or left hand, to the rich or poore, but determining all matters

matters vnder their censure, as they looke to bee iudged by that supream Iudge whose Lieutenants they are.

Finally, let subordinate Iudges so administer iustice, as they will be countable to both their heavenly and earthly masters; assuring themselves (howsoever they escape here) that there is, *Vnus Iudex, vnum Tribunal incorruptum, ante illud stabunt mortales, ea in sella quisque sedet qui iudicat, vbi si iniuste iudicabitur, nec pecunia, nec gratia, nec falsi testes, nec deserti proderunt patroni.*

SECTION XIII.

*Of the wrath of Princes, when and
how they should punish.*

AS clemency, slownesse to
ire, & proanesse to mer-
cy, are the diuine and
kingly robes of good Princes:
so furious anger, and desire of
revenge, are the tyger-like and
deformed garments of tyrants
by which wisdom is banish-
ed, iustice is forgotten, peace is
ouerthrowne, the common-
wealth ruinated, and the gates
of crueltie vnlockt and layd o-
pen: for this cause Princes are
carefully (setting before them
their

Greg. Mo-
ral, 5.

Erasde iust
prin.

their fatherly affection to their
 subiects) to restraine the impe-
 tuous and dangerous inunda-
 tions of such passions, as are
 preiudiciall to theselues, hurt-
 ful to their people, and vnwor-
 thy the title and dignity of
 kings. *Zelus & iracundia minuunt
 dies, ideo vitanda non tantum mo-
 derationis sed etiam senectutis causa*
 Cotis king of *Tbracia* (being na-
 turally chollerick, and a seuerer Plur. in A.
 punisher of offences) hauing Po.
 receiued diuers rare & curious
 wrought (but fragile) vessels:
 (after hee had bountifully re-
 warded the giuer) did breake
 them all, and being asked the
 cause, answered; lest I should
 be moued to anger, and seuerely
 punish my seruants for breake-
 I 4 king

king of them , I haue broken
them my selfe. This worthy
Prince did well know, *that the*

Proverb. 10.

*fear of the king is like the roaring
of a Lyon : and hee that prouoketh
him vnto anger, sinneth against his
owne soule: and therefore did re-
moue such combustible mat-
ter, as might set a fire his death
threatning furie. There is no-*

*Ira atque
cupido con-
sultores pes-
simi. Salust.
in bell. lug.
Quoties ira
animum in-
uadit, mentē
edoma, vin-
ce te ipsum,
differ tēpus
furoris: dum
tranquilla
mens fuerit,
fac quod
placet.*

Greg. Mor.

*nothing more opposit to counsel
and deliberation, the temerari-
ous and sodaine anger: there-
fore Bias Prieneus prescribeth
delay as a soueraigne remedy
against it: for by intermission,
furious passions languishes,
and the mystic cloudes that
opresse the minde either doe
vanish or become lesse. Anse-*

*nodorus the Phylosopher did
ad-*

aduise *Augustus Caesar*, at such time as hee was angry, to rehearse twenty foure Greeke letters.

In punishing Princes are to keepe such golden meane and temperate mixture betwixt lenitie and seuerity, that the subjects bee neither wounded by the one, or become insolent by the other. *Leones quos mansuescere volunt homines, iubebat olim Phraotes verbe ipsis non cedi, nec rursus blanditijs nimium leniendos putabat, quia sic nimium superbi euaderent opinibatur, itaque blanditijs minis permixtis facilius ad mores optatos posse deducere.*

Lastly, in punishment (if necessity enforce Princes to draw the sword of Iustice) great care

is

is to be had, that it be done unwillingly, as with weeping eyes. Iustice without Mercy is as cruell as Mercy without Iustice is foolish: for although Iustice doth tell Princes, that not to punish an euill, is to allow of an euill; yet Mercy oft times pardons those that deserue it not: wounds ought to bee healed not hurt: onely incurable members are to be cut off: and punishment ought to be agreeable to the fault, and without partiality; lest some be punished and others escape: and finally, all priuate respects in punishment are to bee removed, lest vnder the shadow of Iustice, cruelty and tyranny be shel-

Bern:

Cic. I. Of
sc.

Ambros. de
vid.

heltered. Si omnino misso sanguine fuerit opus, considerandum est Principi ac sustinendum, ne ultra quam sit necesse incidat; cauendum ne maior pena sit quam culpa, & ne eisdem de causis alij plectantur, alij ne appellentur quidem.

SECTION. XV.

Of two sorts of flattery, but chiefly of the last, that haunts the courts of Princes,

THere be two chiefe enemies to vertue in all men, but are more specially preiudiciall to greatnes: the first is, the inward proceeding from home-bred weaknesse,

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝ.
lib. 2. de sol.
93.

Adulator
bonū quod
est abscon-
dit, & malū
quod non
est menti-
tur, Greg.
Mor. 63.

Plato apud
Plur. de a-
micitia, & adul.

Bias apud
Plur. ibidem
Demost. in
Philip. decl.
3.

weakenesse, which dayly sug-
gests store of false coloured
imposture. The second (where-
of I am shortly to speake) pro-
ceedeth from the oyle trowell
of the smooth tong of a mon-
strous man, called a flatterer.
This last sort of flattery, is a
false prayse of that which is
not praise worthy, or a smooth
detracting from the merit of
goodnesse, the waspish honey
of an impudent tongue, the
bondage of the eares, the
fayned friendship of a false
heart, and the chiefe An-
uill whereon the diuell forgeth
his most poysoned weapons:
or it is the *Ioab* or *Indis* like
kisse of a smiling counte-
nance, the poyson of truth,
plaine

playne
that
turne
follow
Prince
Plu
giueth
the r
terers
faine
of m
altie
ther
louin
uolou
affay
care
Cob
Char
bler
true

playne dealing and honesty,
that (Cameliion-like) can Plut. de diff
amic. & adul
turne it selfe into all colours,
following the fortune of
Princes and not themselves.

Plutarch (not without cause)
giueth warning to Princes, of
the twofold cunning of flat-
terers: First, (sayth he) they
faine ignorance of all matters
of moment, whereof loy-
altie should oblige them, ey-
ther freely to admonish or
louingly aduise: but in fri-
uolous indifferent or light
affayres, they shew their
care and officiousnesse. If a
Cobweb bee in the Princes
Chamber, or a Fustian dou-
bler (oft times lined with more
true loyalty and sufficiencie,
then

August, ad
Cassal.

Beata mens
que nec a-
dulatur, nec
credit adu-
lanti.
Hier. de vi-
ritute;
In obsequio
comitas ad-
sit, adula-
tio omni-
um vi-
tiorum nu-
tritur, procul
amoveatur.
Cic. in Lel.

then such glistering worme-
spun statutes can containe) be
in the chamber of presence the
keeps the flatterer a stir, cryes
out vpon his fellow seruants,
chamber keepers and vsuers:
for as knauish Empirickes for
curing a sore in the foote, cut-
teth the haire in the head, or
pareth the nayles of the hand:
so flattering Mountebanks ne-
uer touch those things which
they ought, and are onely busie
in matters pernicious or triui-
all. It is musicke able to make
an honest mans teeth ake, to
see a young Catotumenist flat-
terer, after some short trauels
(bought perhaps at a deare
rate) at his returne, vent his
Matchimilian foppery with a
salu-

salu-
vmb-
fare-
Dien-
sieur
one
wh
ly i
ver
term
(for
eye
is t
mu
du
na
he
ne
to
co

salutation of *Monfieur ie bafe le
vmbre de vofre gartier*: and at his
farewell confirme it with *per
Dieu ie fuis vofre feruitour Mon-
fieur*: this he performeth, not
onely to fuch great ones, in
whose fauour he would glad-
ly infinuate himfelfe, but to his
very corriuals, whose *requiem e-
ternam* hee would gladly fing
(for enuy hath euer murdring
eyes) but that fuch *Simon* fongs
is the true *Canaan* language I
much doubt.

Secondly, (man being en-
dued with two faculties, ratio-
nall and irrationall) the one
heauenly, delighting in good-
neffe; the other brutifh, giuen
to false pleasures and to the
corruption of nature) the flat-
terer

*Emolliri a-
dulationi-
bus non fo-
lum fortitu-
dinis non
eft, fed etiā
ignauiz.
Xen. in Ciri*

*Plut. de diff.
Amic. & a-
dul. li. in
Sym.
Plato in
Phedr.*

terer either (Athiest like) contemnes the heauenly parts of the soule, or takes no notice of them at all; the terrestriall other parts, hee cunningly and couertly fomentes, vntill such time as the vse of reason is quite extinguished.

As wholesome meate (sayth *Augustine*) neither nourisheth the body, nor strengtheneth the sinewes, but leaueth corruption in the stomacke: so flatterers adde nothing to wisdom and vertue, but stirre vp vice. If Princes be angry, their flatterers bids them be reuenged. if they be ialous, they bid them beleue it: if they be covetous, they aduise them spoile their people: if sometime Prin-

August. ad
Cal.

Princeps
adulato-
res hos-
um numero
ducit, & fi-
des existi-
met amicos,
non qui
cuiusque
ceteris, aut
fecerit lau-
dant, sed qui
errantem
aduent in-
crepare. Uo-
ad Nico.

ces

ces be graciously pleased to admit to their presence a playne Countrey man (whose education, modestie, or bashfulnesse hath not taught him in Kings presence to maske himselfe with a Brazen Face) then the flatterer laughes, scoffes, iests, and takes exceptions at euery wrong hayre in his Beard.

It is cleare then, that flatterie ΠΑΥΣΙΑΚΟΝ
ΔΙΟΥΝ.
lib. 1. fol. 63. is the pest of Princes, and the soft Bed whereon Princes lye, in the Lethargie and vn-
sure securitie of Vice; the *Circæan* Musike, that drawes them from the true Rule of Reason, and discerning of Truth: and the gilded pylls, vnder which is hidden most deadly poyson.

K When

Quin. Curt.
Gell. lib. 17.
Plut. in A-
lex.
Victus A-
lexander
pellacibus
adulatorum
Lenociniis,
ita Matri
scripsit: Rex
Alexander,
Iouis Am-
monis filius
Olympiadi
Matri salu-
tem dicit.
Att. in gell.
Alexand.
Oros. lib. 2.
Frequentis-
simum ca-
lamitatis
initium se:
curitas, Ta-
cit. 4. hist.

When *Alexander* in drunken-
nesse had killed *Clitus*; his flat-
terer *Anaxarchus* was ready to
tell him, that he had iustly de-
serued his death. So long as
Alexander followed the whole-
some aduice of Philosophy, so
long did Wisdome moderate
all his actions; then did hee
throwe *Aristobulus* flattering
Verses in the Riuer *Hidaspes*:
but when Flatterie had once
whispered in his Eare, then
Pride; Cruelty, Ambition, and
Forgetfulnesse of Humane
Frayltie did intrude in the
places of his former Vertues:
Then did he kill his true hear-
ted Seruant, bewayle the want
of Worlds, to satiate his aspi-
ring Minde, call himselfe the

non W

X

Sonne

Sonne of *Jupiter*, and forget that he was the Sonne of *Philip* of Macedon. *Xerxes* (whose Armies *Græcia* was too little to contayne) trusting in flattery, had an ignominious overthrow at *Thermopylas*: One told him, that the Sea groaned vnder the heauy burthen of his Nauy; others, that it was to be feared, that by escape of the Enemy he should lose the triumph of a glorious Victory. Amongst many thousands one faythfull *Demaratus* was onely found; this braue Cour- tier did tell him, that his confused Multitude had more weight then strength, was ill to be gouerned, and not to be trusted.

Sith then there is no such dangerous domestike enemyes to Princes, as Flatterers; it concerneth them (after notice of such attendants, who by flatterie insinuates themselves in trust) neererly to distinguish such *Sycophants* from honest men; to discountenance them, and not to preferre them to places of credit: so long as they are fed, so long shall they magnifie the Liberalitie and other Princely Vertues of their *Souueraigne*, but if he leaue off, or be exposed to the least aduerse fortune, then shall cunning *Proteus* change his shape; when true attendants are most obsequious in aduersitie, and more willingly follow those whom Fortune

Agap. ad
Iust.

Plutar. de

Amic. etadu.

Petrar. lib. 1.

Dist. 19.

Eraf. 6. apo.

hath

bath left. Tarquinius the proud
 (being in exile) did oft times
 say, that he did neuer know his
 true friend from his flatterer, *Accl. Lamp.*
 till he was neyther able to re-
 ward the one or the other. *A-*
lexander Seuerus did so detest
 flattery, that he caused *Tburi-*
nus, a corrupt Flatterer, to bee
 smothered with smoake; *But*
him (sayd he) *that did sell smoake,*
dye by smoake. *Ageseus* did ten-
 der those as his most faithfull
 followers, that did most freely
 admonish him; true wisdom
 made his vertuous minde to
 bend rather to that which was
 good in it selfe, then to that
 which by euill mindes might
 bee iudged good. *Accepta eos*
qui bonorum conciliarum te admo-

nitum esse volunt, non eos qui
adulantur.

SECTION. XVI.

*To whom Princes may safely com-
mit publike Functions.*

Xen. in Cir.
Plato. Pol.
Iso. de Reg.

THERE is no man so care-
lesse, that will commit
the charge of a Shippe,
or of his Goods (although of
small value) to an ignorant
Steeres-man, or vntrusty Fac-
tor; neyther wise Prince, that
will commit the Gouvernment
of the Common-wealth, the
Goods of his Cities, and Liues
of his People to such, whom

Homer. Ili.
24. 17.

Homer calls Deuourers of Peo-
ple.

ple, The wrong election or
suffering of wicked Officers,
makes Princes lyable to their
faults (the Censure being all
one, whether Errors be com-
mitted by themselves, or their
Vice-gerents:) for Princes must
not onely answer to God
(whose immediate Vice-ge-
rents they are) for themselves,
but for such whom they de-
pute to any part of their
charge. Wherefore (seeing the
good or bad estate of the Com-
monwealth depends chiefly
vpon this choyse) two consi-
derations are worthy the ob-
seruation of Princes, in prefer-
ring of Delegates & Officers:
First, that none make merchan-
dize, or by Money incroach

Negocijs,
quæ per re
non gerun-
tur, varos e-
iusmodi
præfice,
tanquàm omni-
nium quæ
illi commi-
sserint, cul-
tæ tibi impu-
tanda sit.
Agap. ad
Iust.
Non tan-
quam ad
mundinas, &
Macello e-
undè est ijs,
qui sibi gu-
bernacula
reip. commi-
sserunt.
Plat. in Pol.

vpon publike Functions, or
 wickedly hunt after them:
 that they bee conferred vp-
 pon such, whose Life is vn-
 corrupt, and their Know-
 ledge sufficient to discharge
 their places; for certainly, the
 loue of Iustice and Com-
 wealth, is the least re-
 ayne of such who
 comes vnto pre-
 chiefe designes
 on their priuate
 lage of others: by
 to Dignities and
 ces wrong themselues,
 thers; themselues, in promo-
 ting such as are not worthy;
 and others, in barring those
 whose merit deserues prefer-
 ment.

Next,

Next, because Couetousnesse
is the most dangerous euill in
a State, and drawes men head-
long into wickednesse and mi-
serie: therefore it concerneth
Princes to be carefull, that
Iudges and other publike Of-
ficers be not onely free them-
selves from disloyalty, bribery,
corruption, but their fol-
lowers and attendants also fro
all suspicion thereof. A-
lexander (by Oracle) de-
creed the ouerthrow of
Sparta: O Sparta (sayd hee)
whosoever is your King, Lady
Pecunia is Queene, therefore your
destruction is at hand. This was
a true Oracle from a false God,
yet worthy the obseruation in
the Morall. Theopompus being
asked

Caput sit in
omni pro-
curatione
negotij, &
muneris
publici, vt
auaritia
pellatur eti-
am minima
suspicio.
Cic. 2. offic.
Ex Dione
Cassio.
Eras. 6. apo.

vpon publike Functions, or
 wickedly hunt after them;
 that they bee conferred vp-
 pon such, whose Life is vn-
 corrupt, and their Know-
 ledge sufficient to discharge
 their places; for certainly, the
 loue of Iustice and Common-
 wealth, is the least part of the
 ayme of such who by Money
 comes vnto preferment; their
 chiefe designs are builded vp-
 on their priuate gayne, and pil-
 lage of others: by rayfing such
 to Dignities and Offices, Prin-
 ces wrong themselves, and o-
 thers; themselves, in promo-
 ting such as are not worthy;
 and others, in barring those
 whose merit deserues prefer-
 ment.

Next,

Next, because Couetousnesse
is the most dangerous euill in
a State, and drawes men head-
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serie: therefore it concerneth
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Iudges and other publike Of-
ficers be not onely free them-
selues from disloyalty, bribery,
or corruption, but their fol-
lowers and attendants also frō
the least suspicion thereof. *A-*
pollo Pitkius (by Oracle) de-
nounceth the ouerthrow of
Sparta: O *Sparta* (sayd hee)
whosoever is your King, Lady
Pecunia is Queene, therefore your
destruction is at hand. This was
a true Oracle from a false God,
yet worthy the obseruation in
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Caput sit in
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suspicio.
Cic. 2. offic.
Ex Dione
Cassio.
Eral. 6. apo.

Ex Plat.

asked how Princes might iustly gouerne their people: answered, By giuing his Friends no more liberty then is iust, and by carefull watching, that subordinate Officers vprightly discharge their places, *Augustus Caesar* oft times did preferre his Friends to eminent places of Authority; but they were such, whose sufficiency did answere his expectation in the administration of Iustice and good example.

Rhein. Lor.
Suet. in
Cae.

Secondly, it is necessary for Princes, by admonitions and louing exhortations to recommend Iustice and Vprightnesse to their subordinate Delegates; other times, by threatening and

and exemplarie punishment
checke the least suspicion of
corruption. *Agesilaus* vsed of-
ten to exhort his Deputies,
that they should rather study
Iustice and publike good, then
the insatiable desire of Riches.

Plut. in *Polo*

Flavius Domitian did not onely
seuerely checke suspected Iud-
ges, but did giue way to all
such as were wronged by the,
to enter suit against them, and
did seuerely punish such as
were found guilty. *Epaminon-*

Hinc Lex
repetunda-
rum pro-
mulgata, &
strictissime
conseruata
fuit: Qua
repetebatur
omnes res,
vel dolo, vel
vi ablata.
Sabell.

das hearing a poore man (who
had beene long kept in suit of
Law) complayne of want, did
send him vnto the Iudge of
that Court, where hee was in
suit, with a Warrant, to re-
ceiue a Talent of Money;
the

the Iudge did deliuer it vnto the Beggar, but did humbly petition vnto the King, that hee would be pleased to shew him the reason why hee had imposed such a great summe vpon him. Because (sayd Epaminondas) the man whom I sent, is poore, and honest; but thou art rich, and a robber of him and the Commonwealth. A notable example for Princes, to looke vnto such as in Magistracie haue indirectly encreased Riches. Salomons sentence against such, was, *Qui iniuria afficit pauperem, vt detescat ipse, dabit ditioribus & egebit ipse.* For certainly, no punishment will so curbe such as are corrupted, as sometimes (for

Ael. Spart.

F
(for e
Tryal
lawfu
Ad
peres
tauit
mo o
tem
Of S
S
th

(for example, after lawfull Tryall) to seize vpon their vn-lawfull Purchase.

*Adrianus Imperator, quos pau-
peres & innocentes vidit sponte di-
cauit; quos calliditate ditatos sum-
mo odio habuit & ad paupertate-
tem redegit.*

SECTION. XVII.

*Of Secrecie, in the managing of the
weightie affaires of Princes, and
what Iudicious Policie Princes
may sometimes lawfully vse.*

Secrecie is the best and most sure Guardian of great Affaires (to which there is nothing more preiudiciall

*Veger. de
Re. Mil.*

Diog. apud
Stob.

Omnium
difficilimū
arcanum re-
ticere, ex
dog. Philos.

Vt Princi-
pis est, se-
creta non
facile alicuj
concedere:
ita nemo
prudens stu-
duerit in-
dagine, con-
sequi prin-
cipum ar-
cana: Eras.

2. Apo.

diciall then immature discou-
rie.) and is recommended to
Princes as a chiefe Pillar of
Empire. Counsell without se-
crecie, is like an abortiue birth,
brought forth without life;
and therefore to be impriso-
ned in the Wombe of secret
thoughts. *Salomon* to this pur-
pose sayth, *In absconditis concili-*
abitur. Because Secrecie is a
most difficill Humane action,
the ancient Heathen did pic-
ture their Gods with one hand
vpon their mouth; moralli-
zing, that important Affaires
by Princes are onely to be im-
parted to such, of whose se-
crecie and loyaltie they are
well assured. Great *Alexander*
hauing receiued a Letter from
his

his M
to h
rouc
net;
cie t
uori
mar
wh
hau
fwe
Kin
to
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his Mother *Olimpias*; giuing it to his Secretary to reade, did touch his mouth with his Signet; thereby enioyning secrecie to him. *Philippides* the Favourite of *Lisymachus*, being demanded by his Soueraigne, what Benefit hee desired to haue conferred vpon him? answered; I refuse nothing, O King: onely impart no secret to me; for it is difficill to keepe counsell, and dangerous to reueale the secrets of a King.

*Arcanū neq; in scrutabris ullius unquā, Herald. 3.
Commissumq; legas, et vino tortus, et ira.*

Augustus Caesar caused the bones of *Tballus* (who had opened a Letter committed to his trust) to
Succ: in
Caf.
 be

be broken, to the terror of such vntrustie attendants. This secrecie (the necessitie whereof is knowne to such who are entred in the first elements of State) is seconded by the wise choyse of such whom Princes priuately imploy in matters of weight : For sometimes, to good ends, both good and bad subiects are to be conciliate. And although Princes do detest trecherous and wicked followers, yet make they vse of both sorts, for the effecting of good and commendable purposes. Which politike parts of Gouvernment (otherwise then they fall out) cannot be reduced to a definite number, neyther bee better illustrated then

Plur. in
Poll.

Est quæ-
dam hone-
sta, argue
commenda-
bilis callidi-
tas. Bas.

then by precedent Examples,
and are to be vsed according
to the necessitie of time.

*Qui regnare volunt multis dormire sagaci
Multaque concilio dissimulare solent.*

Hannibal hauing resolved to
beleaguer Sagunth, did bring
his Army against another Ci-
tie, lest his intention against
Sagunth should be discovered.
Another time the same Hanni-
bal did spare a field of Corne
that did belong to his enemy
Fabius; thereby giuing cause
of suspition to the Senate a-
gainst Fabius. This cunning cle-
uished practice might haue somewhat
preuayled, if the Pietie of Fabius
and Pollicie of Hannibal had

Liu. lib. 21.

Bell. Prin. 2.

Val. lib. 7.

cap. 3.

not beene well knowne to the Ro-
manes.

Trebell. Pol.
Disſimulat
iniuriam
callidus, ac
ſtultus ſta-
tim prodit
iram ſuam.
Pro. 12. 13.
Liu. lib. 3.
Bell. Prin. 2.
Omnia
Hannibali
hoſtium
non ſecus
quam ſua
mora erant.
Liu. 22.

Sometimes Wiſdome adui-
ſeth Princes rather to winke at
capitall Offences, then violent-
ly, in an vnfit time, to bewray
their iuſtly conceiued displea-
ſure. *Marcus Marcellus* hearing
that ſome of his Councell had
priuate intelligence with his
Enemy *Hannibal*, did conceale
his knowledge, till ſuch time
as *Hannibal* was paſt hope of
taking the City *Nola*: Then
did he ſhut his Gates, ſtreng-
then his Guards, and call the
Conſpirators to an accompt.

Amongſt all theſe, and many
other Pollicies, there is none
more profitable for State, then
to haue good intelligence of
the

the Affayres of Enemyes, or of
 such, of whose friendship Prin-
 ces are least secured; to prie in-
 to their Strength, Intentions,
 & Preparations. The Carthagi-
 nians fearing the Power of *A-* From lib. 1.
cap. 2.
Plut in
Poc lib. 2.
lexander, did send a Citizen of
 courage (as banished) to en-
 treat the protection of *Alexan-*
der; who being retayned, did
 skrew himselfe into the coun-
 cell of *Alexander*, and discouer
 his Intention to the State of
 Carthage. These, and the like,
 be the wise Pollicies of Prin-
 ces: all which are euer to be
 warranted by a safe conscience
 and good ends.

*Vbi Leonina pellis non pertingit,
 oportet Vulpinam (sed semper ad
 bonum finem) assuere.*

SECTION. XVIII.

Vpon whom Ecclesiasticall Functions by Princes are to be conferred.

Greg. in
Regist.

THere be three inseparable companions whereupon the sole felicity of wel-gouerned Comonwealths doe depend: The first, is the right education of Youth; the second, Religious and holy Pastors; the third, Vpright and Iust Magistrates: Without the first, the second and third cannot subsist; and without the second, the first and third are without effect: for without good

good education there can bee
 neither holy Pastor, nor iust
 Magistrate: without religion
 Learning and Iustice are im-
 profitable: for this cause, Prin-
 ces are carefully to prouide,
 that the care of the soules of
 their people bee not commit-
 ted to wicked or ignorant
 Pastors. *Causa sunt ruinae populi
 sacerdotes mali, quoniam peccato-
 rum participes sunt qui ministeria,
 quod aiunt, portantibus asinis cu-
 ram animarum crediderunt, aut
 ineptos homines exemplaria posue-
 runt.* Church benefices are not
 rashly to be conferred vpon e-
 uery one, but vpon such, who
 in good workes, sound do-
 ctine, and irreproueable life
 are worthy of so high a cal-

Episcopi
 sacris literis
 eruditi sint,
 Patres non
 Domini
 Hier. ad
 Paul. & ad
 uers. Luc. &
 Epist. Paul.

Tit. 1. 6.
 2. Paral. 17.
 1. Tim. 1.
 Pet. 2. 2.

ling. Good king *Iehosopbat* is a patterne for succeeding Princes, in making choyce, and preferring men learned and holy: for none can preach except they bee sent; and none are sent who by simony, pride and ambition, or other indirect meanes intrude themselves into the Lords haruest, seeking their priuate ends, and not Gods glory.

Princeps dignos solū
& in via domini probatos eligit, ac beneficijs ornabit, nō currentes euehet lupos hiantes. lisdor; Etym. cap. 2.
Nauis pra-latorum tris bus lateribus compa-cta esse debet, cordis puritate conscientia bona, & fide non ficta.
Bernard. in fest. Magd. Serm.

Finally, as *Plato* did thinke no man fit for gouernment, but such who did vnwillingly vndergoe the heauy burthen thereof: So Princes are to preferre none to Ecclesiasticall functions but godly, learned, & honest men, whose merit rather then desire of dignity

nity challengeth such place.
*Princeps imprimis eos suspectos
habeat, qui se negotijs ingerunt am-
bitiosi, qui sua querunt, non que
Dei sunt, qui denique voti compo-
tes, vel praece vel praeio fieri con-
tendunt.*

SECTIO. XIX.

*Of Church controuersies, ciuill con-
tentions, seditious Pamphlets,
infamous Libels, and how care-
fully by Princes they are to bee
repressed.*

ALL Controuersies may
bee reduced to Ecclesi-
asticall or Ciuill: such as
concerne the Church are ei-

ther touching the true wor-
 ship of God, or high mysteries
 of saluation, of which it is
 true. *Non seruatur unitas in cre-*
dendo nisi ea. e n sit in colendo: Or
 they are of matters of disci-
 pline, Church policie, and in-
 different; the first are broached
 and entertained, either by A-
 thiests, Idolatrous, suspicious
 Hereticks, or conceited Schis-
 matickes; the second are set on
 foote and vpholden by sediti-
 ous, ambitious, singular or ig-
 norant persons; who preferre
 fishing in turbulent waters &
 their own priuate ends to their
 duty to Princes, their obedi-
 ence to their superiours, to the
 care of their flocke, or peace of
 the Church, accounting it their
 chiefest

Sunt quos
 ambitio im-
 pellit: qui
 priuatum
 degeneres,
 in publicum
 exitiosi, ni-
 hil spei nisi
 per discor-
 dias habent
 Tac. 11. A-
 nal.

chiefest honour to call in question things indifferent, and by refractory, repugnancy, *Arte contra dicendi omnia in dubium vertere.* Plato de scient.

I wil not enter into the first sort of Church controuerfies, because they are sufficiently conuincd by the sacred scriptures, and many orthodoxall Councels. The controuerfies themselves of the second sort are also already determined by the generall consent of the Church, and writings of many religious and no lesse learned: neither doe I intend to plow the spacious fields of ciuill contentions, I leaue them to the wisdome of Princes, and to such graue and learned Iudges

Tit. cap. 3.
10.

350 A TABLE BOOKE

Iudges to whom the subordinate determining of causes amongst subiects is committed: I wil onely (in few words) touch the severall parts of my deuision.

Tir. cap. 3.
10.

First, Athiests, Idolatrous, superstitious heretickes, and obstinate schismatickes, are eyther by sound doctrine and charitable perswasions to bee reduced to the right way, or (as tares from the wheate, or the sowre leauen of the Pharises) to be distinguished and separated from loyall and dutifull subiects, lest the good be corrupted, or the whole lumpe infected. The others, who affects certain cognizances & badges of curiosity, *Anarchie*, confused parity,

parity, or false named purity,
 (euer holden dangerous in all
 sound gouernment) & seeks to
 correspond amongst theſelues
 & be ſeparated frō the church
 (not knowing, or not ſeeming
 to know, *tam ſunt mores quidam*
ſchiſmatici quam dogmata ſchiſma-
tica) I leaue them to the care of
 ſuch prouident Princes as
 (without doubt) in a fit time
 will obuiate ſuch euils as with
 draws the obedience of ſub-
 iects, or diſturbes the peace of
 the Chnrch. If my request
 might haue due reſpect amongſt
 ſuch perſons, I ſhould ſincere-
 ly wiſh that they would wiſely
 perpend, that the ſupreme Bi-
 ſhop did recommend peace
 vnto the Church, that who-
 ſoeuer ſowes diſſention in the

*Saraguntia-
 quirentes &
 quæ ſubter-
 terram ſunt
 & ſupræter-
 rum. Tacit. 4
 Anal. Ioan.
 19.23.*

Church, rents the scamelesse
coate of the Lord of the
church: that without brother-
ly loue, blinde zeale doth not
profit, but leades to destructiō:

Qui secan-
dam Deum
est zela à
superna po-
tentia de-
pender, &
diuina qua-
dam ac mo-
derata con-
cinnaque
ratione gur-
bernatur.
Niceph.
Greg. lib. 6.
Chryl. sup.
Iohan. hom

Vbi zelus & contentio ibi incon-
stantia & omne opus prauum. That

the bonds of religion are our
faith, our baptisme, and not
our ceremony, our policy: that

such who are giuen to vnfruit-
full and vnecessary contro-
uersies, vnswadles the church

of her bonds of peace, opens
a gap to all disorder and scan-

1. Cor. 7:13
25. 11. 16.

dall, giues aduantage to the
common enemy to make mu-

ficke by their discord. Let the
remember that *insane disputa-*

tiones a Satana suggeruntur.

That they would doe much
better

better to leaue the turbulent
and ouer-weaning Opinions
of these Times, and reuiue the
blessed proceedings of the A-
postles and Fathers of the Pri-
mitiue Church, which was in
the like or greater cases, not to
enter into assertions and ne-
cessitous positions, but to de-
liuer counsels and aduices.

Saint Paul was content to say,
Ego & non Dominus secundum

concilium meum. Lastly, my ear-
nest desire should be, that all
such as haue lost the charac-
ters of loue, and by fire-brands
of inconsidered zeale haue a-
bused the patience of Princes,
by stirring vp needlesse con-
trouersies, and haue neglected
superiour powers, by contem-

ning

Sine impe-
rio nec do-
mus vlla,
nec ciuitas,
nec gens,
nec homi-
num vni-
uersum ge-
nus stare,
nec rerum
natura oms
nis, nec ipse
mundus pos-
set. Cic. 1. 1.
de legibus.

ning the authority of their mother the Church might wisely consider, that *hominis est errare; sed nullius nisi insipientis perseuerare in errore.* That where offences are incorrigible, the slownes of Iustice is retaliated by the seuerity of punishment. That scepters haue eyes, and Princes long hands that will see and ouer-reach their most secret and far distant actions of this quality.

The ciuill dissentions that do concern Princes to looke vnto are either betwixt subiect and subiect vpon some inueterate malice, or new conceiued quarrell, and are to be appeased by louing admonitions or royall authority: or they are *propter*

meum

meum & tuum, for titles to goods
 or lands, & are to be determi-
 ned according to equity and
 law, the right vse whereof is
sum cuique tribuere, & rather to
 determine matters of weight
 then to authorise, multiplicity Plut. in De-
met.
 of wranglings, vnbrotherly
 contentions, & endles suites a-
 mongst subiects: wherby their
 estates are either weakened or
 ruined. *Iam quidem omnino
 delictum est in vobis quod liti-
 giosa iudicia habetis inter vos.* 1. Cor. 9. 7.
 This vncharitable going
 to Lawe, and endlesse ende
 of Law hath euer beene e-
 steemd the fruits of Athisme,
 contentious spirits or idlenesse
 and eminent badges (howsoe-
 uer clogged) of corruption
 and

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΗΜΟΝ.
lib. 2. fol. 92.

and iniustice: For this cause,
the checking and abridging of
the impertinencie and delay
of Suits belongs vnto supreme
Magistrates and subordinate
Iudges: *Lis de rebus facile cor-
ruptibilibus celeriter debet termi-
nari vel res vendi, ne legibus fun-
data ciuitas, legibus euertatur.*

From the infected Foun-
taines of Church-controuer-
sies, ciuill contentions and fa-
ctious courses by them arising
doe flow the poysonable Ri-
uers of Enuy, Malice, Discon-
tent, Vncharitable centure, se-
ditionous and infamous Libels,
not onely against the persons
of priuate men, but against
Princes and superior Powers,
against whom wee are not to
thinke

Cic. in Ca.
til. 2.
Tacit. 1. Hi-
stor.
Salust. orat.
fil.
Nō est sub-
ditorum te-
mere vitam
regentium
iudicare.
Greg. Mor.

thinke an ill thought, al which
 machinations, and (*Catiline*-
 like) firebrands, are to be cen-
 sured as the monstros births
 of Parricides and Traytors, or
 the intemperate extrauagant
 counsels of light persons,
 (that thriue best in the muta-
 tions of state) and are lyable
 to the seuerity of exemplary
 punishment to bee inflicted
 vpon the Authors, detulgers
 keepers or allowers of such
 hellish trash as infatuates the
 hearts of the foolish light vul-
 gar, with a sinister misprision
 of best actions, and brands the
 authors with all such taints as
 disgrace may acumulate vpon
 such disloyall subiects. The
 contagion of this disease (as

Multitudo
 omnis sicut
 mare mobi-
 lis est quis
 bus in sedi-
 tionibus, in
 pace turbat
 sunt. Liu 28

M

the

the waters that gain a breach) is to bee stopped at the first, least such inundations overflow the fields of dutifull subjects, and bring contempt vpon authority. *Omne malum nascentis facile opprimitur: inueteratum fit plerumque robustius.*

SECTION. XX.

Of the liberalitie of Princes.

PHilip of Macedon being aduised to punish Nicenor (who had vniuſtly detracted from the merite of ſo worthy a Prince) answered;
Ni-

Nicanor non est Macedonum pessimus, videndum est igitur ne nos cessamus in officio : This wise Prince knowing *Nicanor* to bee poore, did presently giue order that a giift should bee sent vnto him; some few daies after (by the same informer) it was told to *Phillip* that *Nicanor* did much magnifie him : You see then, sayde hee, that it is in the power of Princes sometimes to cure the diseases of scandalous tongues.

As God is liberality it selfe, is bountifull to all men needeth not, nor requireth any gaine, onely affecteth the sacrifice of a true penitent and right thankfull heart :

Tutius Principi munificentia & benificencia sibi consiliare benevolentia hominum & amaritum. Eras. apo.

so true liberality not onely
 conciliates the loue of subiects
 but maketh (in some sort) the
 faces of Princes , to shine with
 the goodnesse of their Maker,
 in the distribution of their
 goods without respect of reta-
 liation or gaine. They doe vse
 their people as good Shep-
 herds their sheepe, they feede
 them vpon the greene and
 wholesome pastures of muni-
 ficence and liberalitie , and do
 not suffer them to range in the
 barren deserts of pouerty , to
 bee torne with thorny bram-
 bles, neither to be a prey to de-
 uouring Wolues. They doe
 well know that earthly riches
 are vncertaine, not permanent,
 but perishing , temporary and
 day-

Xen, in
 Cir.

Instabiles
 diuitie flu-
 uiorum imi-
 tantur cur-
 sum, Agap.
 ad Iult.

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daily transferred from one to another, gotten with care, kept with danger, and left with sorrow; but munificence and liberality are firme permanent and perpetual, purchased by vertue, exercised with ioy, and recorded vpon the table of in obliterable true honour. This due consideration will make liberall *Titus Vespasian* bewayle the day wherein he had done no good. *Alexander Seuerus* inuite the poore & indigent to bee beholden to him. But although long discourse embellished by a reuiued *Demosthenes* with all the ornaments of art could adde nothing to the perfection or due prayse of this Princely vertue:

Beneficentia thesauri stabilis est possidentibus cum Beroal. de Op.

Cum sit vbiq; vi uis modus, & que peccat quid excidit, quam quod defecit Senec. de benef.

yet lest the poore virgine liberalitie become prostitute and common, she is to bee confined within her owne limits, and tyed to the following circumstances. First, (because vertue consults in the mean) Princes are iudiciously to examine their ability lest they giue more then they may, or lesse then they should. They are not to giue too much, lest in watering the channell they empty the spring: nor too little lest they empayre theyr royall dignitie. They are not to giue to all men, because the vn-satiabable belly of the multitude can neuer bee satisfied. *Si passim, si omni-*

Diog. apud
Stob.

bus

bus quis finis ? Their liberality must bee chiefly extended, *Virtute predictis indigentibus, aut bene merentibus*; to the vpright vertuous that stands in neede, or to the well deseruing: if sometimes they giue to the vitious it is in commiseration of theyr wants or in hope of theyr amendment, and not to add matter to theyr insolent life, *Qui homini nequam dat, non homini dat sed humanitati.* Next the time of giuing (consisting in timely giuing, and not keeping sutors in suspence) is worth the obseruation: *Bis dat qui cito dat:* timely liberality sheweth a free and true noble willingnesse,

Beneficium
ab homine
duro & as-
pero datum
panis lapis
dofus est,
quam esu-
sientis exi-
pere neces-
sarium, est
tamen acer-
bus Senec:
de benef.

and delayes doe discouer a refractary consent, looseth the guift and the thankfulnesse of the acceptant. The place of giuing is rather to be priuate the publicke, *Beneficia non sunt reuelanda nisi cogat necessitas nec exprobanda apud memores*: true liberality can neuer abide pharisaicall ostentation, neither doe goodnesse and charity participate with hypocrisie, hope of gaine, or glorious shewes. *Id pie iuste humaniter fit, quod sine spe recipiendi fit.* Lastly, the beneficence of Princes is to bee of their owne goods, not vniustly taken from one and conferred vpon another, least the grudge of the wronged, exceed the loue of receiuers. *Qui a' ijs nocent*

Recte facit
qui silentio
tegit opus
suum, & ne-
cessitatibus
singulorum
occulte sub-
uenit. Amb.
1. offic.

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*nocent, vt in alios liberales sint non
benefici nec liberales, sed perniciosi
iudicandi sunt.*

SECTION. XXI.

*Of the mutuall friendship; and cor-
respondence that ought to be be-
tweene neighbouring Princes
and contiguous kingdomes.*

S*Alomon* preferreth a friend
that is neere to a brother,
that is farre off, intimating
thereby that neighborhood &
vicinitie of place, hath a chiefe
interest in the degrees of frie-
ship: *Themistocles* hauing a par-
cell of ground to sell, gaue or-
der to the Cryer to make it
more

Proverb.
27. 10.

Chremes
ille Terenti-
anus in pro-
pinqua a-
micitiæ
parte ponit
vicinitatem
Plut. in apo.

Atrox pe-
stis vicinus
malus, con-
tra maxima
commodi-
tas. Hesiod.
de Agricul.

more vendible, to adde the com-
mendations of his neighbors.
The dolefull experience of ma-
ny famous nations, noble
houses by bloody warres and
dissentious, now ruined and
desolate, doe demonstrate
that the intertaynement of
neighbouring friendship and
mutuall respect, is a redoub-
led strength of kingdomes,
and maintayner of families:
*Omnis vis unita plus est, quam
multiplicata. Aetoli & Acarnani in-
ter se mutuis cladijs euerterunt.*
By discord the noble fa-
milies of Scillans and Marians,
Caesarians and Pompeians were
ouerthrowne. But if I had
the penfill of *Apelles* I should
neuer bee able to giue the
due

due proportiō & liuely colours
to neighboring friendship: but
(leauing the Art that farre
transcends my reach) I one-
ly doe commend vicinitie and
vnited strength, as the chiefe
humane blessing imparted to
Kings or people: First, by
the vtter euersion or irreco-
uerable losse of such famous
kingdomes and honourable
families as now (by bloody
warres and iarres) are either
desolate or not scarre-cured.
And secondly, by the mul-
tiplicitie of benefites and
the most wholesome fruites
of peace, plentie, loue, free
intercourse, and common so-
cietie: all which by scissure and
dis-

Nihil ma-
rum re-
rum facile
interibit, si
habeas vici-
num bonū
qui statim
in periculo
succurat.
Hesiod.

Discordia
atque sedi-
tio omnia
oportuno-
ra facit in-
fidiantibus
Liu. decad.
lib. 4.

and disrenting of the hearts & affections of such whom the maker of all things hath framed in one mould (euer opposite to humane policie, and lyable to diuine censure) are quite ouerthrowne and extinguished.

Dissentio-
nes nunquā
debent a-
mari, sed as-
liquando
aut charita-
tem probant
aut a chari-
tate nascun-
tur. Aug.
Epist. 87.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
ΔΙΟΝ.
lib. 2. fol. 55.

For these and many other causes (which I might alledge) good Princes are carefull (if it be possible) to be at peace with all Christian Princes, whom they vse as their brethren and friends, conciliating them by Princely offices, mutuall correspondence, euer doing to others, as they would others should do vnto thē: but more neerely they tender the benefit of such who liues within the

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& cō
to v
heart
eos q
num
meru

Of

A

w

the precinct of their territories
& cōmand, them they strīue
to vnite in religion, lawes, and
hearts. *Facile coit amicitia inter
eos quos lingua communis regio-
num propinquitas, ingeniorum ac-
merum similitudo consiliat.*

SECTIO. X XII.

*Of warre: what Princes are to con-
sider before they enter in warre;
for what causes they may law-
fully take armes, and how to be-
hauē themselves in warre.*

ALL warre may be deuī-
ded in royal, ciuill, more Ibid. lib. 1.
then ciuill & personall
warre. I call that royall warre
which

Lucan. lib. 1
 Genes. 14.
 16.
 Varro.
 Diod. Sic.
 Quint. Cur.
 de gest. A.
 lex.

Tit. Liu.

which is be betwixt king and king, kingdome & kingdome, which (as some doe affirme) was begun, and had the name of *Bellum* from *Belus* sonne to *Ninus* and did begin in *Assiria*: others that *Chedelaamor* king of the *Elamits*; others affirm that *Prometheus* was the first that tooke armes. Such troyall war was betwixt *Alexander* and *Darius*, *Rome* & *Carthage*. Ciuill warre is betwixt neighbor and neighbour, citie and citie, such was betwixt the *Hannonians* & *Asdrubal*; in *Rome* betwixt the *Pompeians* and *Cesarians*. More then ciuill warre is betwixt father and son, coulsen and coulsen, vnckle and nephew; such was betwixt *Herod Ascalon* and his

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his two sonnes, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey* at the battle of *Pharsalia*; where did lye dead the father killed by the sonne, the brother by the brother, and the cousen by the cousen; and if wee will come neereer such bloody warrè was in England; betwixt the house of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* now happily vnited. Ioan. Car. Scru. in. Ae. neid. Virg.

Personal warre is the debating of some matter of cōsequence; and somtimes for the maintaining of matters of small moment, betwixt prince & prince, subiect & subiect, & of al other sorts of war (*Dauids* fight with *Goliath*, and the like excepted) 1. Sam. 17. 50.

least warrantable amōgst subiects, far lesse amongst princes Quint. Curt.

vpon

vpon whose safetie dependeth
 the publicke good) whose per-
 sons are not to be committed
 to singular hazards: such war
 was betwixt *Alexander* and *Da-
 rius* for the mariage of *Sabina
 Heretrix* to the kingdome of
 Albanie, betwixt the Emperor
Constantinus and *Maxentius*. But
 I will leaue the curious deuifi-
 on of warre, and shortly speake
 of that warre which is royall.
 I doe confesse that peace is the
 Nurse of all happinesse, and the
 arch blessing that (by the Al-
 mighty) is imparted, either to
 Princes or people, yet can I
 not deny that there is a time of
 warre, wherein Princes may
 lawfully take armes: *Duo sunt
 decertandi genera vnum iure legum,
 alte-*

Omnis pax
 à deo est

• Greg. lib. 17

Pacis bono
 omnia bo-
 na constant
 Aug. de ciu.
 dei. c. 19.
 Eccles. 3.

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alterum per vim, confugiendum est ad posterius, si non satis est uti superiori; when reason is extinguished then force may succcede:

yet before attempting warre, Princes are wisely to expend the difficulties and bloody dangers that doe attend warre.

That they truly inform themselves of the causes which moue them, of their abilitie to vphold so sumptuous a charge: they are seriously to meditate with themselves, and debate

with their Councell vpon the irrecoverable losses, the chaos of confusion, the multitude of miseries, the inhumane cruelties, the shipwracke of conscience, the spoyles, rapes, tyrannies, murthers, cares, dan-

Bonus princeps non facile prouocabitur ad bella gerenda, sed prudenter quantum inter sit inter hominem pacis ac benevolentie naturam animalis & inter feras belluas predationis generis. Rhein. Let.

N gers

gers, losses, cryes of fatherlesse and widdowes, and vpon the Ocean of euils that do accompany al-deuouring warre; they are wisely to consider the endlesse charges, that vpholds it, the encrease and multiplying of it, the easie beginning, the difficult and vncertayne issue of bloody warre, and that they must not seeke to obtayn that with blood and shame, which they can neither get nor keepe, without sin. These and the like euils are able to check the inordinate desires of ambitious enlarging of dominions, of vayne glory, or tyrannous reuenge. Princes are to call to mind that innocent blood is botled in heauens treasure; that there is

Quam calamitosa & res scelerata bellū, hinc malorum omnium, quasi mare quoddam exundat semelq; cuncta quamcunq; peruaseric calamitatum fluctibus operit bellum. Erasmi in paneg. ad phil.

a strict account for the least drop of humane blood, spent in their default. To this they may add the frailty of the life of man, the millions of diseases, hourly accidents, and fatal blowes that dayly besides war assaults the ruinous Cottage wherein the life of man is enclosed.

Secondly, let them descend to the true causes of warre, (from which are to bee excluded the ambition of *Alexander*, the confidence in the number of *Xerxes*, the couetousnes of *Cresus*, and priuate ends of *Cæsar*.) Gods glory, the defence of kingdomes from forrayne iniury and enioying of peace, are the true causes that ought to

Bella susci-
pienda ut
iniquitatis
causa tolla-
tur & prop-
ter pacis ne-
cessitatem.
Aug. contra
Faust.

Ex Plur.

found the trumpet in *Sion*, and
 vnsheath the regall sword:
 these moued *Dauid* to put his
 hand to the sling: *Iudas Macha-*
beus boldly goe against Gods
 enemies; many braue Princes
 to contemne death in his face,
 for the honour of their su-
 preame King, and safety of
 their Countreys. *Augustus*
Cesar did say that warre ought
 to bee commanded by the
 Gods, iustified by Phyloso-
 phers, maintayned by Prin-
 ces, and executed by wise
 Captaynes, and couragious
 Souldiers. Princes then for
 the aboue named causes (af-
 ter they haue lawfully de-
 nounced warre in publicke
 and honourable forme) may
law-

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ
 ΔΙΟΡΘΩΤΗΡΙΟΝ
 lib. 2. fol. 55.

lawfully take armes ; wherein they must bee religious, prouident, iudicious, iust, politike, vigilant, skilfull, strict obseruers of discipline, and mercifull. So long as *Moses* lifted vp his hands, so long had the people victory. Prouident *Scipio* did scorne to say *non putarem*, I did not thinke it should fall out thus . Iudicious *Alexander* made rather choyce of few skillfull, then of confused multitudes . Iust *Seleucus* did rather share in one Eye with his sonne , then to bee taynted with iniustice. Politicke *Sertorius* was more confident in counsel then strength. *Pescennius* did watch when his souldiers did sleepe. Skill-

In alijs rebus si quid erratum est potest post modum corrigi, praeiorum delicta commendationem non re. inuit. Veget. lib. 3

Val. Max.

full *Hannibal* did range his battels to disaduantage his enemies. *Alexander Seuerus* did so strictly obserue Military discipline, that he did punish the least contempt thereof. Mercifull *Mithridates* did not insultingly triumph ouer his vanquished enemies.

Next, in the hazards of war Princes are to be neither carelessly nor timerously suspitious of the euent which may sinisterly succeed, but iealous & head-full in dangers, stretching and tentering their wit vpon the racke of inuention, till their setled and Steele-armed resolutions may boldly aduenture the chance of Dice, & attempt their fortune. The Emperour

Lucullus

Optimus
locus inbel-
lo est medi-
us, quia for-
tes tenent
locum me-
dium inter
timidos &
audaces.
Anst. polit.

Lucu-
num
criper
sibi
same
cunct
bium
form
wise
rath
and
the
vnc
cou
si q
Cal
Ma
to p
fac
for
cal

Lucullus vsed to say, se malle v-
num militem suum e manibus hostiū
eripere, quam vniuersas hostiū copias
sibi vendicare. Hannibal to this
same purpose sayth, Se magis
cunctantem & acquiescentem Fa-
bium, quam pugnantem Marcellum
formidare. It hath euer beene the
wisedome of greatest Captains
rather by pollicies, stratagems,
and wisdom to ouerthrow
the enemy, then by hazards &
uncertain battle, and rather by
councell then by force. Lacones
si quando stratagemmate, hoc est
Callido consilio hostem superassent,
Marti bouem immolabant, sibi aper-
to praelio gallum; hoc pacto consue-
facientes belli duces, vt non solu n
fortes essent ad praelium verum vt
callidis potius consilijs a lueris ho-

Ael. Spart.

Eutrop. lib.

3.

Cæf. de bell

1. sec. ad Ni-

cod. Reg.

stem instructi, victoriam incruentam consequentur.

In warre also magnanimity and courage in most eminent dangers is requisit; because the quality of warre is such, that the fearefulnes of one, discourageth others. Wherefore base feare (the badge and terror of peasants) doth not beseeme commanding Princes: for certainly where feare is, there can bee small hope of victorie. *Iudas Machabeus* (enuironed by the multitude of enemies) was aduised to turne backe. God forbid (sayd he) that we should do this thing to fly from them if our time become let vs dye manfully for our brethren; and let vs not stain our honor.

Alexan.

Plut. in
Pol.

1. Mac. c. 9.
30.

drias
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Iphi
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yo
Th
wa

drias captaine of the *Spartans*,
 being demaunded why his
 people did make choyce, ra- Suet. lib. 5.
 ther of death then to yeeld to
 the enemy; because (sayd he)
 it is a law obserued amongst
 them, rather to offer theyr bo-
 dies to death then to captiui-
 tie. *Bias* (hauing warre with
Iphicrates King of the *Athe-* Val. Max :
nians) being surprized by
 an vnexpected ambush, and
 seeing his people abandon him
 did thus encourage or rather Trog. Pom.
 checke their cowardise: tell
 you, said he, to the liuing, that I
 your Captaine do die fighting;
 and I shall tell to the dead, that
 you did leaue me like cowards.
 The strength of the *Assirians*
 was in the courage of their
 com-

commander *Belus*: of the *Persians*, in *Cirus*: of the *Thebans*, in *Herculos*: of the *Hebrewes*, in *Iudas Macchabeus*: of the *Grecians*, in *Alcibiades*: of the *Troians* in *Hector*: of the *Egyptians*, in *Ogiges*: of the *Epirotes*, in *Pirthus*: of the *Romans* in *Scipio*: of the *Carthaginians* in *Hannibal*.

By these & the like it is cleere that moe famous victories, & more prosperous successe hath happened, by the wisdome, dexterity, and courage of Princes and Commanders, then by the strength of souldiers arms.

Lastly, because warre (as all humane actions) must haue an end, the seuerall issues of warre present a three-fold consideration: First, if Princes attaine to
the

the most fortunate succes that
 can bee wished, they are mo-
 destly to curbe their immode-
 rate ioyes, insulting pride, and
 inhumane cruelty, remem-
 bring *Ezechiels* wheelles (coun-
 terfeited by the Poets, *in rota*
fortune) whereby is denoted
 the volubility of worldly af-
 fayres; that the euent which
 falleth this day to the victor,
 may fall the next to the van-
 quished. *Fortuna vitrea est cum*
splendet frangitur. When *David*
 did heare of the death of *Saul*, ^{Plur.}
Iulius Cæsar see the head of ^{Quin. Curt}
^{Salust.}
Pompey, Great *Alexander*, *Darius*
 dead in his presence; *Marcus*
Marcellus, *Siracuse* burned; *Scipio*
Numance destroyed; and *Han-*
nibal behold the prostrate Em-
 bassadors,

bassadours, sorrowfull wid-
dowes, and fatherlesse chil-
drē at *Cannas*. These great Prin-
ces did testifie by (their cōmi-
serate plaints and bitter teares)
the sorrow they did conceiue
at the fall of their most obsti-
nate enemies; for pittifull re-
spect of the miserable, is the si-
ster of mercy, & compassionate
sorrows are able to extract
teares from stone-hearted cru-
elty: Much more from such
good Princes as are secondary
patternes of clemency and
mercy. *Epimanundas cum alias*
hilari vultu solitus est in publicum
prodire, postridie eius diei quo
feliciter pugnatum est in leuētris,
processit squalidus & submissus;
amicis causam sciscitantibus, ni-
hil

Basil. in E-
pist.

Ambr. ad

Vercel. Ep.

*hil inquit, sed heri, sensi me plus
equum mihi placuisse, eius gaudij in-
temperantiam hodie castigo.*

Hier. in
Glossup.
Math. 5:

Secondly, if the victory en-
cline to the enemy, wise and
couragious Princes are nei-
ther to contemne matter of
such importance, neither to
bee (cowardlike) dejected; *ef-
fractis rebus violentior vltima vir-
tus*: they are to recollect
themselves with the remem-
brance that vnconstant warre
sometimes exalts the conque-
red and subdues the Conque-
rors: *Grauiissime sunt morsus irri-
tate necessitatis*; therefore they
are to vse the best meanes
in their iust causes, to
recouer their losses, or pre-
pare the way to an honou-
rable

Eurip. in
Phœnic.
Demost. ex
arg. lib.
Plato apud
Stob.

Demost.
in or. funeb.
Cic. ad seru

rable peace, or with their reunited forces, try the more fauourable aspect of death-thundring Mars. Time admits not many words where danger knockes at the doore: *Omnia experire more anguium, qui capite obtrito cauda minantur.*

The third and last consideration, is in binding vp of peace, wherein Princes are to shew themselves confident in arms. *Sub Clipeo melius succedit pacis negotium:* They are so to negotiate that their laying downe of armes, may bee vpon sure and honourable conditions. *Vt vere pax ea sit, non pactio seruitutis.* But when Princes know their own weaknesse, and the powerfulnessse of their enemies, wisdom

Plato. de
Rep. Cic. 2.
Phil. 2.
Veget. lib. 2.
Liu. lib. dec
10.

their more eath-
mits dan-
Om-
ui ca-
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dome aduifeth 'them to yeeld
to fuch conditions, as by the
dextrous managing of matters
of fuch importance they can
procure. *Sit pax aliquando, quauis*
tuta conditione, nam gubernator v-
bi naufragium timet, licet iactura,
quicquid fanari potest redimit, neces-
fuati parendum, quam ne dij quidem
superant:

Lemachus
apud Plac.
in apo.

SECTION. X XII.

*Of Souldiers and Militarie disci-
pline.*

THe name *Miles*, or war-
riour (after the building
of Rome) was by *Romulus*

lus, giuen to a thousand select
 men, an d called *Milites*, *quasi v-*
nus ex mille, aut vnus mille valens,
 one out of a thousand, or one
 worth a thousand. The name
 of a souldier, is a name of ho-
 nour and labour, saith *Polibius*.
 In making choyce of souldiers
 the ancient Romans did chief-
 ly obserue two things. First,
 they were carefull, that they
 were young, generously and
 vertuously enclyned. *Iuuentus*
dat vires, virtus idoneum militem
facit, & verecundia dum prohibet
fugere sepe facit esse victorem: the
 one giues strength, the other
 addes courage, the champion
 of victory. Secondly, such as
 were elected had their oath (by
Lucius Flavius and *Gaius Varro*
 Con-

Polib. lib. 7.

Non mi-
 nus in mili-
 te modestia
 & continen-
 tiam, quam
 virtutem a-
 nimi mag-
 nitudinem
 desidero.
Cæ. de bel.
Gal. lib. 7.

Veget. lib.
q. cap.

Con-
 se fug
 bitur
 nisi t
 causa
 shou
 their
 a dar
 a fri
 so n
 nemo
 ment
 cium
 Etio
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 dien
 son
 con
 his
 sho
 Con-

Consuls) these words, *iurabant se fugæ, aut formidinis causa non abituros, neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli petendi aut hostis ferendi causa, aut ciuis seruandi*; that they should not goe away, or leaue their stations, except to take vp a dart, hurt an enemy, or saue a friend. This oath was thoght so necessary, that *sine electione nemo conscribatur; sic sine sacramento nemo nomen militis aut officium sorti us est*: as without election none were enrolled: so without the oath, none did enioy the name or place of a souldier. Marcus Cato sending his sonne to the warres vnder the command of *Pompilio*, did by his letters sollicite, that hee should not bee admitted vnto

O

the

the army till hee had taken his oath; and his reason was, *Militem non credebat nisi eum qui sacramento in militiam consecratur; ut Deo primum fides debita, deinde Principi & reipublicæ seruetur in columnis.* Because he did not beleue any worthy the name of a souldier, but such who by their oath had consecrated themselves to warre-farre, that their faith to God and loyalty to their Princes might be safely preserved. In this election the making choyce of forraine auxiliary souldiers, hath beene by many debated, and by some iniustly altogether disabled: frõ whom I do the rather dissent, because I do finde both in ancient and moderne warres that
forraine

forraine helpes haue with the like (if not with greater) valour and faith maintained their reputation, then the natiues: yea I may safely affirme; that forraine courage & strength hath repaired the losses of such Princes and states, who now alloweth their merite no other Chronicles then their owne wounds: howsoeuer, that *Mat- chinell*-like inference of *Nicholas Matchinell* doth not hold good, wherein (to disproue the helpe of alients) hee presents *Dauid* vpon the stage, refusing *Saules* armes to fight with *Goliath*: but certainly *Dauid* was encouraged by an higher power then all the subtilty of *Mat- chinell*'s wit could reach: and if

*Nichol.
Matchin,
Princip.*

he had not (vpholden by that
 same power) beene more con-
 fident in his owne armes,
 hee would not haue refused
Saules offer. But because I doe
 make haste to speake some-
 what of military discipline, I
 will onely recommend these
 cautions to Princes in the ad-
 mission of auxiliary strangers.
 First, that they admit no more,
 then they stand in neede of,
 may command, and are able
 without mutiny to keepe in
 pay. Next, that they choose the
 of such neighbouring Coun-
 treys as stands well affected to
 their state. These two obser-
 uations beeing kept Princes
 may safely (if their owne
 forces bee not sufficient)
 make

Ioseph lib.
 1. Aul.
 Pius 2. apud
 Plat. lib. 2.

make election of forraine supplies.

Next, vnto the election of such whose bodyes, mindes ^{Veget. lib. 9} and fayth are answerable to ^{Val. lib. 1} their charge: the second care is, that by discipline they may be made skilfull, conformable to good lawes, and obedient to the commaund of their Princes. This military discipline doth consist chiefly, in ^{Aug. apud} *exercitatione, in abdicatone voluptatum, in cohibitione commessationum* ^{Diog. lib. 5.} *rapinarum otij & innobedientie.* By exercise soldiers becom skilfull in their armes, strong in their bodyes, and couragious in their mindes. *In omni præ-* ^{Demet.} *lio, non tam multitudo & virtus indocta quam ars & exercitium*

O 3 solent

Socras. apud
Stob.
Zenon a-
pud Diog.
lib. 7.
Pith. in suis
præcept.

solent præstare victoriam : Oft-
times skill and exercise effect
more in warre then multitude
or vertue without skill. On
the contrary, idlenesse (as it
doth to all men) doth infect
the bodyes and minds of soul-
diers, with a senslesse securitie,
and dulnesse to doe good, and
stirres them vp to all such vi-
ces as may offend others, and
are the staines of reputation
and breach of good lawes; &
therefore great Captaines can
neuer bee assured of expected
successe, without keeping of
souldiers in dayly exercise. Al-
though *Asia* had no vse of ships
yet lest the souldiers might
be dulled or corrupted by idle-
nesse, order was giuen to build
ships

ships
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mult
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Ci
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pa
e
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: Oſt- ſhips: for (one wittily ſayth) *bo-*
e effe& *mo ſanus opioſus, quam febricitans*
ltitude *multo miſerior eſt*: a man that is
On in health idle is in a more dan-
(as it gerous eſtate, then he that is in
nfect an ague.

ſoul- Secondly, luxury of ſouldi-
ritie, ers makes them become ſenſe-
and leſſe of reputation, effeminate
a vi- and ſoft, and is to be choaked
and in the birth, leſt enchanting
ion *Circes* change *Uliſſes* followers
& into ſwine: or luxurious *Cam-*
can *pania*, blemiſh the famous vi-
ted ctories of *Hannibal*, and in the
of end deliuer him vp as a ſubie&
al- to adorne the Trophes of his
os moſt contemned enemies.

Thirdly, by diſcipline ſoul-
diers are to be reſtrained from
rapes, ryots, and diſorders. *Mar-*

cus Cato did enact that the
 hand of him that committed
 theft, should be cut off. *Ly-*
cias that whosoeuer did offer
 iniury, ryots, or abandon his
 place without cōmand, should
 be seuerely punished. *Manlius*
Torquatus filium quod ipso igno-
rante ad dimicandum discenderat,
maētari inssit satius iudicans pa-
trē forte filio, quam patria mili-
tari disciplina carere: This great
 Captaine did preferre the care
 of discipline to his victorious
 sonne: but as in all other rigo-
 rous execution of Iustice: so
 in military discipline seueri-
 ty is to be inflicted; first, *Emen-*
dandi causa, that the party puni-
 shed may be therby bettred: for
 some-

Val. Max.

sometimes seuerity cutteth off many, that thoreafter might proue profitable members in the body of an army. Secondly, seuerity is to bee vsed, *cum dignitas eius in quem peccatur tuenda est, ne pretermissa animaduersione contemptum pariat*: When neglect of punishment begetteth contempt against the person of commanders and good lawes. Thirdly, punishment must haue its force, *vt metu pene ceteri terreantur*, that exemplary punishment vpon corrupt and vncurable members may terrefie others.

Veget. lib. 3
Plat. Epist.

Salust: ad
Cæf. de rem
ord:

The necessitie of military discipline is demonstrate, by the benefite that commeth to
Prin-

Pub. Mim.

Princes by it, and by the losses that idlenesse confusion, & the neglect thereof doe beget, *Alexander Macedo exiguam manum militarem a patre suscepit, sed doctam, qua asuefacta militie orbem terrarum aggressus, innumeras hostium strages fudit:* the small but skilfull force that *Alexander* did receiue from his father, did challenge the whole world, and subdue infinite number of enemies. The Romane Empire was begun, augmented, and continued by military discipline and obseruation of good lawes, vtterly euerted by luxury, idlenesse, and the like, consuming plagues. The fearefull name of *Xorxes* (by foolish confidence)

Val. Max.
Quin. Curt

Polib. lib. 6.
cap. 7.

fidence) was ecclipsed by two
 shamefull ouerthrowes giuen
 him at *Thermopilas* & *Salamine*,
 where too late hee did com-
 plaine, *Se habere multos homines*
raro autem disciplina tenaces.

SECTION. XXIIII.

*Of the meditation and preparation
 of Princes against the day of
 death.*

AS there is nothing more
 certain the deaths neuer
 failing arrest, neither
 more irreconcilable terrible
 & dāgerous enemy to the cor-
 rupt sons of *Adam* then death: Greg. Mag; 18.

So

So is there no more heauē pleasing care, then the watchful attendance for death, no truer badge of fortitude then the couragious defiance of death, & no such glorious victory as in the triumph ouer death.

Bernard:
Moral, 18.

Aug. de
mort.

This due meditation & preparation against the coming of death is the Anuill whercon the armes that must conquer him are forged. The victorious ouercomming of death is the crowne of a good life here, and the earnest of assured happinesse hereafter; and ought to be common to all men and proper to Princes. First, least greatnesse, honours, riches, power, or other deceitfull vanities transport them, & make them

them forgetfull of human condition inuegle the eyes of their soules with security of long life, or make the remembrance of death bitter, *O mors quam amara est memoria tua homini pacem habenti in substantijs suis.* Solomon

Proverb. 8.

31.
Eccles.

(who had long enioyed honor, riches, and whatsoeuer else might dignifie and exalt him) did in end draw the short conclusion, that all things vnder heauen are *vanitas vanitatis*, that the onely true comfort in this earthly kingdome is in expectation of a better hereafter: and that the soule staruing-pleasures after which he had formerly hungred, were but vanities and vexation of spirit. When sicknesse or old age
the

Asperitudo
& senectus
mortis nun-
cij sunt.
Chrys. hom
5.

(the harbengers of inexorable death) such Princes to yeelde nature her due, they may thus meditate and reason with themselves: death is not to be feared where a good life hath prepared the way: to heare of death is no nouelty: that they with all men are borne to dye: that all their auncestors are by death dissolued: what numbers of Monarchs are before them, & that all shall follow them: that death is the end of miseries, & entry to true happinesse in heauen, where incorrupt treasure abides them: that the mercie-Master the true Samaritan, and great Physition of soules hath a salue for euery sore; that hee did cure the woman whose
faith

faith was great, saued his Apostles whose faith was little and hath promised (by the similitude of the Mustard seed) to receiue in his kingdome the widdowes mite, or the least dram of sauing faith. To these meditations may be added the weakenesse, shortnes and frailtie of the life of man, subiect to sicknesse, poterty, iniuries, violence and millions of downethrowing miseries: yea miserable man is dayly tormented with the chief pleasures of life. Delicacy of meates begetteth cruditie & indigestion; strong drinke palse and trembling; lust, stupidity, weakning of the body: riches enuy in possessing of them, and sorrow in leauing

Math: 8, 25.

26. 13. 31.

si possemus

super talem

ascendere

speculum de

quo vniuer-

sam terram

sub pedibus

cerneremus

iam tibi o-

stenderem

mundi rui-

nas, gētes gē-

tibus, reges

regibus,

regnaregnis

collisafatios

torqueri, a-

lios necari

alios absor-

beri flucti-

bus, alios in

seruiutem

trahi, hic

nuptias illic

planctum

illos nasci

istos mori

Hieron. ad

Heled.

ps

of the: in one word, euery Ioy hath his ensuing sorrow, life is blinde, doubtfull and full of troubles; honors swelleth it, sorrow extenuates it, heate ex-ficates it, surfets oppresse it, sad-ness consumes it, solitude im-prisons it, security duls it, yong age exalts it, youth profuseth it, old age makes it feeble, and death ruines it: what a foolish frailty is it then to feare death, when in each or most of these calamities of life, we wish death should cease vpon vs.

Wherefore seeing the body of man is but the ruinous cot-rage wherein the soule of man is imprisoned; and dayly as-saulted with neuer ceasing enemies: the best way to auoyd

a more glorious & sure dwelling place for so heavenly a guest; is timely to teach the soule to despise the body, that she hath no interest in it; is a stranger, a pilgrime, and a wearied guest; traueilling towards her long wished home, and vn-willingly detained within the dungeon of corrupt flesh; that because death is the way whereby she must arriue at her long wished heauen, shee must willingly acquaint her selfe with death; to discover the dangerous ambuscadoes, and ensnaring traps that are hidden vnder the ouershadowing groues of greatnesse and prosperitie.

This serious meditation of death, the familiar conuersing
 P with

death, and timely disjunction
 of the soule from the body is
 the right preparation to dye,
 and when death comes, boldly
 with a kingly courage, trium-
 phantly demand him in the
 face, *Death where is thy sting?*
Maximilian the Emperour cau-
 sed his tombe five yeares be-
 fore his death be carried wher-
 soeuer hee did goe, that by the
 remembrance of death he might
 dislodge ambitious, foolish, de-
 ceitfull, wordly, affections, and
 be ready with old *Swan*-sing-
 ing *Simeon* to receiue his safe
 conduct, and say, *Now Lord let-
 test thou thy seruants depart in peace
 for mine eyes haue seene my salua-
 tion.*

Ex orat. su-
 neb. succu.

Luc. 2. 25.
 26, 27, 28.
 29. 30.

Secondly, death is carefully

to

to be premeditated, because the forgetfulnesse of death increaseth the horror, and augments the feare of vnexpected death.

Aug. de mort.

Omnia repentina grauiora sunt, sed premeditatio futurorum malorum lenit eorum aduentum.

¶ This consideration of the vncertainty and vnexpected comming of death and careful provision for his coming is able to withstand the furious assaults of fearefull rebellious flesh, ambition and down throwing pride of the most powerfull Princes; is a careful

Petrar. dial. 28.

seruant for the comming of the master: a neuer sleeping watch, attending the theefe & a prouident Oeconomus for laying vp of true store. Remem-

Luc. 21. 29.
Thess. 1: 5.
Reuel. 3: 3.

ber O king, sayde *Agapetus* to
Iustinian, that death feares not
the spenldor of honour or
Eccle 27. greatnesse, but impartially
deuoures Kings and Beggers:
therefore before his comming
lay vp prouision in heauen
where no corruption shall
haue entry but shall returne
to dust & ashes from whence
Iob. 1. 21. 7. it did come, and man borne
naked shall goe hence naked,
death shall finde him as life
leaves him, and iudgement
shall finde him as death leaves
him. *Non potest male mori qui*
Aug. de doct *bene vixit: & plerumque mala*
thist. *mors est, quam mala vita præces-*
Lact. lib. 3. *fit, nam sicut vita ipsa bonum est*
19. *cum virtute viuatur malum si*
cum scelere; Ita & mors ex præ-
teritis

teritis vita actibus ponderanda est.

SECTION. XXV.

*Of mourning for the dead, and of
Christian and Princely burials.*

L Et such Critickes who
condemne mourning
sermons, and funeral ho-
nours to the praise of the faith-
full departed; consider that ig-
norance or singularity is the
mother of their errour, and as
it is true, that Christians trans-
lated from this life: *Non sunt o-*
missi sed præmissi, so is it as true
fidelibus defunctis debito honore
ac funebri oratione parentare, nulla
vnquam pietas aut religio recusat.

Christiano-
rum iustorum
defunctorum
corpora
(quibus etiam
quam opera
nis ad bona
opera usus
est spiritus
sanctus) of-
ficioſa pieta-
tate curanda
exequi et ca-
lebranda sunt.
Aug. in
Pat.

The redoubled groanes of our
 Iohn. 11. 33. Sauour at the death of *Laza-*
 38. *rus* demonstrate that mourn-
 ing for the dead is a true signe
 of the pietie of the liuing. *Ste-*
 Aa. 8. 1. *phani Martyrium maximis Christi-*
anorum planctibus & gemitibus
fuit coronatum. *Ieremias* did be-
 wayle the death of king *Iesus*
 in the assembly of the people.
 Gen. 33. 2. *Abraham* his wife *Sarah* : the
 whole house of *Israel* did
 Deut. 34. 8. mourne for *Moses* and *Aaron*
 thirty dayes. King *David* did
 Sam. 3. 19. lament for the death of *Abso-*
 18. *lon* his sonne, and for the death
 of *Saul* his enemy. The holy fa-
 thers did bemoane the death of
 their Princes and others their
 friends. *Ambrose* did most rich-
 ly garnish the hearse of *Theodo-*
sius

sius with a learned Sermon and eloquent oration. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* mortuum fratrem *Casarium* laudavit eiusque memoriam posteris funebri oratione commendavit. *Ierome Damascan* and all the ancient pillars of the Church did honourably regard the funerrall and last honors done to the Christians deceased.

Greg. de
Sepul.
Hier. in pan.

I cease to speake of honors done to Princes after their death by the Phylosophers and ancient heathen: it is dolefully registred, that at the tragicall funerals of *Achilles* & *Patroclus* killed by the *Troians*, *Lachrimis non solum arma lugentium rigarentur, sed & arenae quoque maderent.* Old *Solon* did delight to bee beloued in his life time,

Homer Illi.

that at his death the sorrow-
 full complaints of his friends
 might accompany him to his
 graue. *Iulius Caesar* *questor Iuliam*
Amitam ux. remque Corneliam pro
rostris laudauit.

Iust.

Iust.

All lawes doe warrant such
 offices as are done at the fune-
 rals of such as haue beene pro-
 fitable to the commonwealth
 wherein they did liue, to be iu-
 sta & iure acta, and the least
 defacing of sepulchers of the
 dead, or touch of reproach hath
 beene holden an offence of
 higher quality then the ruina-
 ting of the houses of the liuing
 or spoken against their per-
 sons in their life time, *In iuris*
prudencia quotiescunque leges vi-
uentium pugnant cum legibus
post

*posthumilijs semper preualent post-
humie omniaque iuris priuilegia
fulta fauore publico cedunt &
vincuntur ab vna sola actione fu-
neraria.*

The ancient Christians did ^{Dienapud} accompt it the extremity of ^{Stob.} persecution that they were compelled (*sine supremo honore canticorum & himnorum*) to burie their dead in silence.

I should exceede the limited breuity that I haue enioy-
ned to my selfe, if I should
recount the various and super-
stitious funerall rites obserued
amongst the heathen, or the
sumptuous and vnprofitable
charges bestowed amongst
some Christians. *Egyptij condie-
bant, Persæ cera circum limitos con-
die-*

*debant mortuos eosque domi serua-
bant vt quam maxime permane-
rent diuturna corpora. Magorū mos
erat non humare corpora, nisi a feris
antea fuisset laniata. Messageta cog-
natos & propinquos mortuos deuo-
rant, ducentes honestius ac rectius a
se quam a vermibus comedantur.*

*Sepulture
Pompa ma-
gis est, Sola-
riu in vino-
quam quam
mortuorum
præsidium.
Aug. de cura
promort.*

*Ioan Boem.
de morib.
omn. gen.*

I leaue the funerall fiers
wherein anciently, and yet, the
bodies of the dead haue beene
and are consumed to ashes: nei-
ther will I speake of the preci-
ous iewells, rich clothes, gold,
siluer, seruants, horse, & other
conceited fooleries, where-
with in diuers Nations, Prin-
ces are interred. I doe onely
allow of such honourable bu-
riall of Princes, as is obserued
amongst Christians, & which

is

is rather accompanied and
condoled with the presence
and teares of al good subiects;
sermons funerall orations and
charitable almes (thereby in
citing the succeeding posterity
to imitate the vertues of the
deceased prince) the defaced by
superstitious rites or prodigall
profusion of superfluous and
vnprofitable charge. *Ecclesia*
fulgeat in parietibus, sed ne egeat in
pauperibus, lapides auro indu-
antur, non ut Ecclesie fili
nudi deferantur:

FINIS.

Fauls escaped in the Printing.

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S. r. ad
cellus;
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